Portraiture *and* British Gothic Fiction

The Rise of Picture Identification, 1764–1835

KAMILLA ELLIOTT

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To Edward G. Phillips, whose loyal and supportive friendship has made all the difference

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Note to the Reader

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century texts engage a variety of spelling and punctuation formats; English and American punctuation and spelling differ today. I have opted, as much as possible, to standardize the spelling and punctuation of the texts I cite rather than to follow their idiosyncrasies. Because this is a historical study, parenthetical dates indicate original publication dates rather than editions used; page numbers refer to editions in the bibliography.

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Portraiture and British Gothic Fiction

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Introduction

> Why do our hearts thus throb before inanimate canvas? Surely every thing we behold is but part of one great mystery. When will the day come, destined to clear it up?
>
> —Sophia Lee, *The Recess* (1783–5, 1.91)

> You will know her by her striking likeness to her picture in the gallery.
>
> —Eaton Stannard Barrett, *The Heroine* (1813, 2.155)

> You hardly need an introduction; we have a picture, highly valued by my father, which declares at once your name.
>
> —Mary Shelley, *The Last Man* (1826, 1.48)

This book shares with *The Recess* an interest in the "great mystery" of portraiture and, more specifically, in how first-wave British Gothic fiction and contemporaneous discourses mythologized the rise of mass picture identification between 1764 and 1835,[1] a process that photography would complete in the early 1860s.[2] Though it cannot be comprehensive, this study aims to be capacious, addressing cultural, social, and historical issues, as well as theoretical, semiotic, and aesthetic ones. Given that picture identification is today global and ubiquitous, this

research has relevance beyond its literary and historical parameters, historicizing and theorizing picture identification today.

DEFINITIONS

In defining *picture identification*, it is important to clarify that, although *portrait* and *picture* are used interchangeably in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to indicate pictorial and ekphrastic representations of persons, *portraiture* and *picture identification* are not synonyms. Rather, picture identification is a cultural *use* of portraiture: an intersemiotic practice that most commonly matches an embodied, presented face to a named, represented face to verify social identity. Picture identification is thus not simply a naming of or discourse upon pictures; it also involves a mimetic matching of images that remains central to concepts of identity and processes of social identification today.

Beyond this baseline definition, *picture identification* resonates in other senses: pictures identify persons; persons identify pictures; and persons' picture identifications of others identify them. Gothic fiction provides introductory examples of each sense: in Catherine Cuthbertson's *The Forest of Montalbano* (1810), a picture identifies a person: "My portrait will announce my identity to you" (2.356); in "The Vision of Spiridon" (anon. 1828), one person identifies another by his resemblance to a picture: "I knew him instantly by his resemblance to the portrait in my study" (117); a housekeeper in Lady Sydney Morgan's *Florence Macarthy* (1818) identifies herself as rabidly anti-Royalist when, looking upon portraits of aristocrats from Charles II's reign, she nominates them "a parcel of rakes and harlots" (1.217).

Today we match embodied faces to the named photographs of passports, driving licenses, national identity cards, employee and student IDs, and other membership cards, and we tag photographed faces with proper names on social networking Web sites to indicate identity. Between 1764 and 1835, faces were matched to painted, sculpted, wax, engraved, printed, drawn, written, and spoken images of faces to produce social identification.

In spite of continuities between picture identification then and now (continuities that emerge throughout this book and culminate in my conclusion), compared to picture identification between 1764 and 1835, picture identification today is a stripped-down affair. Picture identification then extended from names to narratives; eighteenth- and nineteenth-century print media yoke portraiture to biography in "national galleries." Edmund Lodge affirms: "It is . . . from the combination of portraits and biography that we reap the utmost degree of utility

and pleasure" (1814, 1.vi). Johann Caspar Lavater's illustrated *Essays on Physiognomy* (1775ff.) reads character in facial features; art critics identify and characterize the sitters as well as the artists of portraits. Portraits in Gothic fiction are regularly accompanied by lengthy manuscripts and give rise to expansive oral narratives. Such practices tie picture identification to social, political, historical, cultural, ideological, ethical, aesthetic, semiotic, epistemological, narrative, cognitive, and psychological issues, issues that this book addresses.

CLASS CONTEXTS

The eighteenth century, nominated "the age of portraiture" in Britain, witnessed an unprecedented downward mobility in who was picture-identified and who had access to picture-identify others, a downward mobility that accelerated in the years 1764–1835. Changes in who was represented by portraits, who was granted authority to read portraits, and how portraits were read produced changes in how social identities were understood and valued. Continuities between portraits and identity were reinforced by a pervasive rhetoric that figured persons as portraits and personified portraits and by ideologies that deemed persons to inhere in their portraits (see chapters 1 and 2).

Picture identification has been for millennia bound up with authority and entitlement: with access to spaces, resources, and privileges—and with denying access to these (see Walker; Breckenridge; Woodall; Brilliant; West). While narratives of picture identification can be read in many ways, my research indicates that their most prominent function in Britain between 1764 and 1835 was to support the ascendancy of the ordinary middle classes in competition with the aristocratic, honorific, and wealthy middle classes who had been represented by named portraits for centuries. The rise of mass picture identification coincided with, marked, and assisted the extension of access, resources, and privileges to the middle and middling classes.[3] Picture identification was also used to keep the lower orders down and to classify and control nonnormative identities, a use that increased as the nineteenth century progressed. A great deal of critical attention has been paid to such practices (e.g., by Finn; Caplan and Torpey; and Tytler); much less has been given to picture identification's promotion of ordinary middle-class ascendancy, a neglect that this book aims to redress.

The definition of *portraiture* in *A General Dictionary of Commerce, Trade, and Manufacturers, Exhibiting Their Present Condition in Every Part of the World* (Mortimer 1810) asserts: "It is also the essential duty of portraiture that it not only imitate what we see in nature, but that it exhibit such views of nature as are

confessedly the most advantageous to the person represented." Middle-class writers and artists co-opted, imitated, undermined, usurped, reworked, and outright attacked aristocratic and honorific ideologies and practices of picture identification, developing new ones advantageous to their own identities and agendas.

Defining "the ordinary middle classes" and the classes with which they competed—even in a limited period of a single nation—is problematic in a postmodern academic context that simultaneously requires definitions and declares their impossibility. The destabilization of social categories that Michael McKeon traces in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries continues and accelerates between 1764 and 1835. Tadmor, Trumbach, Stone, and Davidoff and Hall indicate that the aristocratic and middle classes span wide, often overlapping economic, professional, social, ideological, and educational spectrums. The upper classes range from royalty to newly made gentry; the middle classes stretch from those newly created gentry through educated professionals, entrepreneurs, and industrialists to shopkeepers and tradesmen and those teetering on the brink of the laboring classes.

Hilton affirms the further difficulties of defining class, given the variable and changing factors that constitute it, including rank, family of origin, marriage, legal status, reputation, income, property, profession, education, achievement, and religion (124–41). Along such axes, social status is liable to change and classes are prone to exchange characteristics and values. Lawrence Stone documents that the middle classes upon rising into the gentry generally adopt its values (*Crisis of the Aristocracy*, esp. 11); concomitantly, Vicesimus Knox, writing in 1778, indicates that "the younger brothers of noble houses often think it no disgrace to rival the heir in a princely fortune acquired by honorable merchandise" ("Illustrious Birth" 60). *Belleville Lodge* (anon., 1793) articulates the fluidity of class status and ideology: "I have experienced the transmigration of souls and fled from the body of a fine lady to that of a country girl. My ideas are also changed—every thing has such a different appearance" (1.36).

In spite of such instabilities, it is possible to identify, albeit fluidly and flexibly, class-based cultural mythologies at war in, through, and over picture identification. Even when bourgeois ideologies emerge from the lips of fictional or historical aristocrats—even when a middle-class person adopts the portraiture conventions and aesthetics of the titled—the ideologies and conventions *themselves* remain classed, albeit modified by their appropriations in new class contexts. Indeed, because the middle orders sought to usurp rather than destroy the trappings, wealth, power, entitlement, position, and property of the landed

aristocracy, middle-class ideologies of portraiture infiltrate and co-opt as well as debunk and assault aristocratic ones. Fred Botting observes that

> Gothic fiction preserves older traditions rather than attacking the aristocratic legacy of feudalism. Yet narratives are dominated by values of family, domesticity, and virtuous sentimentalism, values more appropriate to the middle-class readership. . . . Aristocratic trappings of chivalry and romance are subsumed by bourgeois values of virtue, merit, propriety, and, within reason, individualism. (*The Gothic* 4)

Aristocratic portraiture is similarly subsumed, as Gothic fiction works to re-mythologize picture identification and co-opt it for bourgeois ascendancy.

Portraiture's long-standing associations with absent presence prove integral to middle-class narratives of class contest, which subtly interchange absence and presence to promote the usurpation and displacement of aristocratic social prominence with their own. Inverting and joining *absent presence*, authors inscribe narratives of *present absence* that promise future usurpation. The past is absent, but its presence *as* absence proclaims that, just as what is past is absent now, so too, what is now present will be absent in future. Through picture identification, Gothic fiction engages absent presence prophetically, projecting bourgeois identities into positions where they are not yet, but will be. Concomitantly, representing those who currently occupy such positions as absent from them in the future, Gothic fiction constructs absent presence and present absence as tandem metonymic mechanisms of class usurpation and displacement. This is a far cry from traditional metaphoric concepts of immanence; and yet bourgeois artists and authors draw on metaphoric processes to accomplish metonymic usurpations.

These artists and authors rework picture identification to set middle-class-family as well as individual identities against aristocratic lineage. Catherine G. Ward's *Family Portraits; or, The Descendants of Trelawney* (1824)[4] illustrates how an interpenetrating rhetoric of persons and portraits joins incursions upon aristocratic identities through interclass marriage when a bourgeois family, represented as a living gallery of family portraits, arouses aristocratic desire for a bourgeois bride: "[W]hen the whole of the family assembled in the drawing-room, a finer picture of *Family Portraits* were perhaps never beheld on the canvas together, to delight the eye, as well as most irresistibly to engage the heart" (379–80, emphasis in original). The mixed-class couple determines "that their descendants might be . . . *Family Portraits* . . . blended together and brought upon the canvas as living originals and in actual existence" (670). Here and elsewhere, Gothic fiction draws on rhetorical and ideological fluidities between persons and

portraits, procreation and portraiture, God and nature, and art and nature to promote social and class mobility. Gothic, whose critical definition has come to include the crossing of boundaries (see, e.g., Baldick), is particularly hospitable to the many boundary crossings enabled by picture identification, crossings addressed throughout this book.

GOTHIC PICTURE IDENTIFICATION

Although my study engages many discourses (including writings on portraiture, literature, politics, economics, philosophy, religion, history, heraldry, law, education, science, anthropology, linguistics, psychology, physiognomy, and travel literature), its central interest lies in how Gothic fiction mythologizes picture identification. Scholars have addressed intersections between literature and portraiture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Alison Conway considers parallel reception histories of the novel and portraiture in eighteenth-century England to construct a feminist analysis; Lynn Shepherd reads "the portraits and miniatures inside [Samuel Richardson's] novels . . . as moral and emotional touchstones and as objective correlatives for the characters they represent" (9); Elizabeth A. Fay (*Fashioning Faces*) examines "portraitive" practices in painting, china, theater, biography, travel writing, and Romantic poetry; Christopher Rovee investigates Romantic exhibition culture, reading portraiture "as a flexible discourse spanning the visual and verbal divide" (3) and linking the downward mobility of portraiture to the social realist novel's representation of "humbler" identities (24, 32).

In Gothic criticism, portraits and picture identifications have been addressed richly but slimly, read as evidence of an iconography of fear, doubt, loss, disintegration of self and disruption of natural law (Frank);[5] of counterfeits and Baudrillardian simulacra (Hogle); of critiques of consumerism (Wright); and of "the primal scene" (Haggerty). However, no one has yet read Gothic and contemporaneous discourses and art practices to glean cultural mythologies informing and driving picture identification's mass rise.

Gothic fiction is the mother ship of literary picture identification—no other literary period or genre is so pervasively, didactically, and obsessively concerned with it. Of the 208 texts indexed in Ann B. Tracy's *The Gothic Novel, 1790–1830: Plot Summaries and Index to Motifs*, portraits and miniatures are motifs in 80, appearing more frequently than monasteries, convents, secret passageways, orphans, ghosts, libertines, banditti, seduction, rape, shipwrecks, dreams, cross-dressing, letters, and the discovery of lost relatives. Portraits and miniatures ap-

pear as social objects in many of the remaining 128 texts and are present in Gothic fiction before 1790 and after 1830. My book addresses picture identification in more than 100 Gothic texts.

In its own discursive contexts, first-wave Gothic fiction is more radical in its narratives of picture identification than other writings that, for the most part, *reflect* social practices of picture identification or *debate* its theories, aesthetics, politics, and uses. Gothic fiction goes further to *rework* picture identification, reaching into former centuries to rehistoricize it, crossing geographic borders to colonize it, bringing ancient concepts of portraiture under present scrutiny, and using picture identification to redistribute social power. Gothic fiction's rediscovered manuscripts, legends, and personal narratives remythologize picture identification; its politics and aesthetics revolutionize it. The ghosts animating Gothic fiction's ancestral portraits endow picture identification with supernatural power, as do associations forged between miniature portraits and Roman Catholic icons. Gothic fiction furthermore accords picture identification supreme epistemological authority by linking it to contemporary philosophies of mind and empiricism. Hovering between the supernatural and the empirical, picture identification even "proves" the existence of ghosts, rationalizing the uncanny in such texts as Catherine Gore's *Theresa Marchmont* (1824), where "she beheld in that countenance, without the possibility of doubt, the resemblance of the deceased Lady Greville, whose portrait, in a similar dress, hung in the picture gallery at Silsea Castle" (31). Rationalizing the uncanny via picture identification simultaneously normalizes and intensifies, augments and undermines its modes of power. In Walter Scott's "The Tapestried Chamber" (1828), Lord Woodville

> pointed out [ancestral portraits] to his guest, telling the names and giving some account of the personages whose portraits presented themselves in progression. . . . Here was a cavalier who had ruined the estate in the royal cause; there a fine lady who had reinstated it by contracting a match with a wealthy Roundhead. There hung a gallant who had been in danger for corresponding with the exiled Court of St. Germain; here one who had taken arms for William at the Revolution; and there a third that had thrown his weight alternately into the scale of Whig and Tory. (73)

These picture identifications tie the individual to the historical, simultaneously personalizing historical events and according individuals historical significance. Yet they equally showcase the decline of royal power, the rise of parliamentary power, and aristocratic political fickleness. Worse than such decline and instability are the crimes of an ancestress, which are "too horrible" to be told. Underestimating the significatory power of images, however, Lord Woodville has allowed

her portrait to remain in the gallery. The unnamed and unnarrated ancestress forces her own picture identification when she appears as a ghost to Lord Woodville's guest. Matching her ghost to her portrait, the guest convinces the skeptical Lord Woodville "of the horrible reality of the apparition" and to undertake a partial narration of her life, including the lineal crimes of "incest and unnatural murder" (73). Here, as in other Gothic tales, the picture identification of ghosts produces revisionist histories. Here and elsewhere, as my chapters detail, Gothic literature renders picture identification both empirically formidable and psychologically fraught, inculcating it with terror, horror, mystery, suspense, lust, danger, violence, and fatality.

In late eighteenth-century Britain, as Enlightenment philosophy and scientific writings eroded traditional beliefs, as radicals and reformers challenged political structures, as riots and revolutions proliferated, as new technologies, industrialization, rising populations, and increased social and geographic mobility changed professional, social, and familial identities, Gothic fiction intensifies and sensationalizes the resulting mass identity crises for a mass audience. Picture identification is central to solving such crises. From the first Gothic novel, Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), in which a lost heir is identified by resemblance to his grandfather's portrait, to the last canonical first-wave Gothic novel, William Harrison Ainsworth's *Rookwood* (1834), in which a miniature portrait joins a wedding certificate to legitimate an apparent bastard and establish him as an aristocratic heir, Gothic fiction uses picture identification to rework social legitimacy and entitlement.

Apart from a few illustrations, portraits are represented ekphrastically in Gothic fiction. Ranging from full-length through bust-sized portraits to tiny miniatures and from paintings to sketches to embroidery (e.g., *The Children of the Abbey*), portraits represent royalty, aristocrats, clerics, and the middle orders. Hailing from different genres, nations, and period, they take the forms of Roman Catholic icons (*The Monk*; *Trecothick Bower*), medieval chivalric and funerary portraits (*The Castle of Otranto*; *The Old English Baron*), continental Renaissance portraits (*The Mysteries of Udolpho*; *Romance of the Pyrenees*), seventeenth-century Puritan and Roundhead portraits (*Melmoth the Wanderer*), early eighteenth-century portraits (*Astonishment!!! A Romance of a Century Ago*; *The Impenetrable Secret*), and contemporary eighteenth- and nineteenth-century portraits (*Frankenstein*; *Langhton Priory*). Some Gothic texts boast portraits by famous painters: *Langhton Priory* (1809) contains one by Joshua Reynolds; "The Tapestried Chamber" (1828) features paintings by Van Dyck; *The Orphan of the Rhine* (1798) includes paintings by Pietro Perugino and Raphael.[6] Women in Elizabeth Helme's

Louisa (1787) have their miniatures painted by an unnamed local artist; some Gothic heroines are amateur portraitists (in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*). Gothic portraits descend hierarchies of media and genres: a hero in Elizabeth Bonhote's *Bungay Castle* (1796) reads illustrated books (83), and Matthew Lewis's *Abaellino, the Bravo of Venice* (1804) invokes the popular, lower-ranked forms of caricature and woodcuts as metaphors to describe a man's face, described as "the most horrible countenance that ever was invented by a caricaturist. . . . In the union of his features were found collected in one hideous assemblage all the most coarse and uncouth traits which had ever been exhibited singly in wooden cuts" (17–8). Here low social status, morals, genres, and media meld to produce an antisocial picture identification. These are, however, metaphors. Although lower-class thieves tease a Gothic heroine—"I suppose we shall be taken off in caricature when you get among your relations again" (*Belleville Lodge* 2.228)—I have not found any named pictorial portraits of the lower classes in first-wave Gothic fiction; its battles over picture identification lie between the middle and higher orders and, at times, between layers of the middle orders (see chapter 5). Although the lower classes are not represented by pictorial portraits, Gothic fiction grants them unprecedented authority to *make* picture identifications, as chapter 6 details.

Studies like mine, which prioritize some texts and make other texts "contexts," must consider whether their privileged texts *reflect* or *construct* other theories, practices, and discourses of picture identification, or whether they are *products* of them. Surveying prior literature and fiction in 1849, John Bernard Burke opines that fiction imitates life: "[T]here are more marvels in real life than in the pages of fiction"; these marvels "have proved valuable to the poet and the novelist and have been the sources of those beautiful streams of fiction" (1.v–vi). His historical "anecdotes" include several tales that read as if they were Gothic fictions.

By today's critical standards, however, it is more accurate (and conventional) to affirm that Gothic fiction reflects, constructs, *and* produces picture identification. My research indicates that sometimes Gothic narratives reflect contemporary and historical practices of picture identification; at other times, they enter debates over who should be represented by portraiture, how portraiture should represent them, and how portraits should be read; in some instances, they go further to remythologize and revolutionize picture identification for a mass audience, granting picture identification unprecedented and unsurpassed authority as a site of power, entitlement, access, knowledge, identity, desire, terror, criminalization, and social revolution.

Reflection, production, and construction are not, after all, so much alternatives as complexly intertwined processes: reflections are the products of culture;

circulated, they work actively to construct culture. Given picture identification's construction of identity as a chain of images (see chapter 2), picture identification's reflective functions are particularly complex, creating halls of mirrors that at times unfold with numbing symmetry and at others present startling new angles of view. The reflections of imaged identities are never identical; they always vary, making them ideal forms through which to construct and produce social change. The three processes also interconnect negatively, deflecting as well as reflecting, consuming as well as producing, deconstructing as well as constructing each other and culture. In the 1810s, Gothic parodies deflect picture identification's reflections with sideways winks; by the end of the 1810s, its reflections move inward and darken. Distinctions between Gothic fiction as cultural product and as active producer of culture are similarly complicated by consumption. Gothic fiction produces picture identification for public consumption, consuming aristocratic modes of picture identification to produce new ones favoring ordinary middle-class identities. Some late Gothic narratives, however, become consumed by doubts about bourgeois picture identification's production and construction of social identity and shatter into terrifying multiplicities, convergences, and negations, as chapter 10 documents.

Although one can trace some chronological developments (e.g., Romanticism's effect on Gothic maternal iconographies, discussed in chapter 4) and consider how some historical events affect Gothic picture identification (most notably the Reign of Terror, addressed in chapters 3 and 5), for the most part my arguments are less chronologically than thematically ordered. In a thematically structured book, chronological points tend to digress from and dilute argumentation. More fundamentally, Gothic fiction thwarts chronological trajectories, as some aspects of picture identification persist across the period and extend beyond 1835, while many of its variations arise from factors besides chronology, such as the class and political affiliations of authors. Even my final chapter, which addresses reactive iconophobias in late first-wave Gothic, does not entirely conform to chronology, because one of its chief case studies falls in the high Gothic period. A plethora of authors imitating successful Gothic writers, together with reissues of celebrated Gothic novels over many decades, further obfuscates linear chronology. Indeed, once one leaves the Gothic canon to consider other Gothic texts, it is difficult to trace the chronology that has been constructed around that canon. In spite of these and other obstacles to constructing a linear account, chapter 2 does offer a skeletal chronology of picture identification's role in the inheritance plots of Gothic fiction; moreover, subsequent chapters attend to other chronological issues.

LITERARY PRECURSORS

Although Gothic fiction may be the mother ship of literary picture identification, it builds on prior literary fathers. Founding Gothic author Horace Walpole confirms: "Shakespeare was the model I copied" (preface to *The Castle of Otranto* xvii); numerous critics, including Drakakis and Townshend, have traced Shakespeare's influence on other Gothic writers. Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (1600–1) uses picture identification to affirm a king's divine right and condemn a usurper:

> Look here, upon this picture, and on this,
> The counterfeit presentment of two brothers.
> See, what a grace was seated on this brow;
> Hyperion's curls; the front of Jove himself;
> An eye like Mars, to threaten and command;
> . . . . . .
> A combination and a form indeed,
> Where every god did seem to set his seal,
> To give the world assurance of a man:
> This was your husband. Look you now, what follows:
> Here is your husband; like a mildew'd ear,
> Blasting his wholesome brother. (3.4)

Hamlet's picture identification reads a blazon of godlike qualities affirming the *imago dei* and regal virtues in the usurped king's portrait; it reduces the usurper to a body part, rendered trebly mortal by corporeality, disease, and decomposition. Gothic fiction similarly reads moral character and villainy in portraits, typically recasting aristocratic virtues as middle-class vices and apotheosizing ordinary middle-class traits (as opposed to honorific or heroic middle-class achievements). For example, a heroine picture-identified as aristocrat, angel, and Madonna in Louisa Sidney Stanhope's *The Confessional of Valombre* (1812) "had been brought up in the humble sphere of mediocrity; she had subsisted on the produce and exertions of industry" (3.129).

Written two centuries prior, *Hamlet* indicates that economic exchange was already undermining aristocratic traditions of portrait production and circulation. Under chivalry, portraits are bestowed freely as marks of favor and worn as badges of loyalty and devotion. In the wake of regal usurpation, allegiance becomes mercenary; portraits are bought and sold: "[T]hose that would make mows at [my uncle] while my father lived, [now] give twenty, forty, fifty, an hundred ducats a-piece for his picture in little" (*Hamlet* 2.2). The passage gestures

to a wider context in which royal and aristocratic power was being threatened by mercantilism.

A century later, Joseph Addison's poem celebrating Kneller's portrait of George I (1715) suggests that the mercantile classes were using images of the king *against* the king, authorized *by* the king's image. Like Hamlet's picture identification of his father, the poem begins by identifying the *imago dei* in the portrait to authorize divine right:

> We see Britannia's monarch rise,
> A godlike form . . .
> In every stroke, in every line,
> Does some exalted virtue shine (2–3, 10–1)

The *imago dei* extends to the king's image on money; by virtue of being made in the image of the king, golden sovereigns and other coins lay claim to economic value:

> This image on the medal placed,
> With its bright round of titles graced,
> And stamped on British coins shall live,
> To richest ores the value give (22–5)

Alain-René Le Sage's *Gil Blas* (1715–35) refers to coins as "portrait[s] of the king" (Smirke's translation 1.80). As the monarch's image deifies him and grants value to money, coins concomitantly disseminate and circulate his image as a cultural value, tying it to every value that can be bought: "[T]he prerogative of coining money . . . [is] the strongest mark of supreme power that can be given . . . the precious metals and copper, being stamped with the royal portrait, are made equal to the nominal value affixed on all the necessaries of life and on all articles of trade" (Mortimer 1780, 284). However, as history records, coins were exchanged apart from and even *against* the king's interests. Coins express not solely the value of the king, but *all* value, "[c]oin being a material so important—being the universal circulating medium or measure of value all over the world" (Cooper 1829, 142). As Rovee notes, "Against the stable notion of the propertied man, the fluid fashionings of individual identity enabled by portraiture mimicked the fluctuations of capital" (23).

Elsewhere in *Gil Blas*, royal portraits authorize discursive exchanges in "a closet surrounded with low presses filled with books, over which appeared the portraits of all our kings" (Smollett's translation 4.48). Whereas this early eighteenth-century narrator is immersed in "romances on the subject of knight-

errantry," in the later eighteenth century presses engraved, printed, and circulated portraits of royals and aristocrats, reidentifying them according to middle-class ideologies. Such practices find precedents in Renaissance literature, most markedly in Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part 2* (1597–8), which raises the revolutionary potential of mass-produced, circulated picture identification. When Prince John refuses to record Falstaff's fallacious tale of heroism in the official book of deeds, Falstaff threatens to publish it on a ballad sheet "with mine own picture on the top." This popular mode of picture identification, he threatens, will make him "o'ershine [the prince] as much as the full moon doth the cinders of the element" (4.4). While this play raises the possibility only to mock it, two centuries later Falstaff's threat appears seriously prophetic.

Although there is little chance of Falstaff achieving honorific picture identification, *The Merchant of Venice* (1596–7) documents the downward mobility of portraiture into the wealthy mercantile classes. Where hitherto royals and nobles had used portraits in marriage negotiations, here a merchant does so. He, however, uses his daughter's portrait to affirm her individual value, coded as beauty, above her inherited wealth, thereby affirming nonaristocratic over aristocratic indexes of social worth. To win her hand and fortune, suitors must determine which casket—gold, silver, or lead—contains Portia's portrait. Because most suitors value her only in the context of her family fortune, they similarly seek her portrait in a rich setting. Bassanio affirms Portia's personal value over her inherited value when he selects the lead casket.

Shakespeare is not the only literary precursor informing fictive Gothic picture identification. Rovee rightly assesses that the "literary form that, with portraiture, did the most to expand social representation in nineteenth-century culture was the novel," which "took up the humbler scale of everyday life, turning its gaze away from the extraordinary universal figures and toward unremarkable English men and women" (23–4). Eighteenth- as well as nineteenth-century novels pursue a downward representational mobility that runs parallel to the downward mobility of picture identification. Both novels and portraiture promote new forms of social value based in ordinary middle-class virtue rather than heroic or professional achievement and bourgeois sentiment rather than noble blood. Midcentury, Samuel Johnson critiques aristocratic portraits for failing to represent or inspire virtue: the pictures in palaces, "however excellent, neither imply the owner's virtue nor excite it." Promoting sentiment rather than blood as the basis of social bonds, he opines: "I should grieve to see Reynolds transfer to heroes and goddesses, to empty splendor and to airy fiction that art which is now employed in diffusing friendship, in renewing tenderness, in quickening the

affections of the absent." Carrying his critique of class values from portraiture to life—"it is in painting as in life; what is greatest is not always best"—he joins a wider assault on social hierarchies through picture identification (essay published in the *Idler*, 24 Feb. 1759; *Works* 7.158–9).

Fictive narratives of picture identification also valorize portraiture's sentimental over its lineal value. In Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* (1747–8), a patriarch leaves the family gallery to his youngest granddaughter rather than his eldest son because she values them aesthetically and sentimentally. A jealous sibling protests:

> To leave the acquired part of his estate from the next heirs, his own sons, to a grandchild—to his youngest grandchild! A daughter too! To leave the family pictures from his sons to you, because you could tiddle about them . . . [to leave] you with such distinctions as gave you a reputation of greater value than the estate itself[!] (194)

Her bourgeois valuation of the portraits confers them upon her; concomitantly, possessing the portraits confers upon her a "greater value than the estate itself," trumping aristocratic values, given that the estate is the hallmark of landed power.

In the *Idler* essay, Johnson voices the public ascendancy of portraiture over landscape, "the pictorial signifier of property ownership" (Rovee 10), and over history paintings, which celebrate aristocratic and honorific identities: " 'Tis vain, says the satirist, to set before any Englishman the scenes of landscape or the heroes of history; nature and antiquity are nothing in his eye; he has no value but for himself, nor desires any copy but of his own form" (*Works* 7.158). Horace Walpole agrees:

> A landscape . . . however excellent in its distributions . . . leaves not one tract in the memory; historical painting is perpetually false in a variety of ways . . . but the real portrait is truth itself and calls up so many collateral ideas as to fill an intelligent mind more than any other species. (qtd. in Disraeli 1824, 75)

Aristocratic portraiture traditionally represents titled, procreative bodies in propertied seats; bourgeois portraiture emphasizes faces as the seat of thought, character, and affect (Woodall 4), a contrast I address further in chapter 2.

However, the downward mobility of portraiture to the ordinary and middling involves a rejection of honorific as well as lineal value. William Jerdan's *National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages of the Nineteenth Century* (1830–4) includes beauty as a criterion for "those who have earned greatness in the present age in all the paths that lead to distinction or to glory; and their mixed examples will show that their plan embraces beauty, illustrious birth, the church, the law, the

army, the navy, the sciences, the fine arts, and the literary character" (1.7–8). On the basis of sentiment, however, ordinary persons become subjects of picture identification, and ugly persons appear beautiful in *Clarissa*:

> [H]ast thou any doubt that thy strong-muscled bony-faced was as much admired by thy mother as if it had been the face of a . . . handsome fellow? And had thy picture been drawn, would she have forgiven the painter had he not expressed so exactly thy lineaments as that every one should have discerned the likeness? . . . Ugliness made familiar to us, with the partiality natural to fond parents, will be beauty all the world over. (971)

My chapters 3 and 9 explore how mimetic aesthetics and sentimentality elevate the social value of the ordinary and unexceptional while diminishing that of the titled and talented.

In contrast to *Clarissa*, picaresque novels, such as Tobias Smollett's *Roderick Random* (1748) and *Peregrine Pickle* (1751), ridicule portraiture's downward mobility. Featuring middle-class characters attending galleries and art auctions; viewing, discussing, and collecting portraits in Europe; sketching portraits; cherishing portraits of absent lovers and returning portraits to former lovers; and having their portraits painted in fancy dress, these novels mock bourgeois engagements with art and pretensions to aesthetic taste. Joining such parodies, chapter 3 probes parallel protests by politicians and art critics against the tandem downward mobility of political and portrait representation in the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

THE INTERSEMIOTICS OF PICTURE IDENTIFICATION

Part of picture identification's ability to restructure power lies in its manipulations of pictorial and verbal representations and their uses to construct epistemologies of identification. Written and pictorial descriptions of persons share a rhetoric of portraiture in the period; the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) indicates that both pictorial and verbal definitions of *portrait* were in use from the late sixteenth century. As chapters 7 and 8 expand, writers and artists set words and pictures in representational competition throughout the eighteenth century into the nineteenth. For all its anti-Catholic zeal, Gothic fiction often plays Catholic idolater to the Protestant preference for the word in social realist fiction. Robert Miles has argued that Gothic fiction approaches the visual more subversively than other fictive genres, "afford[ing] imaginative space for the disruption of [a] powerful norm" of vision in eighteenth-century aesthetics, undermining the con-

cept of "ideal presence," which he defines as a midpoint between perception and ideas aimed at producing proper moral and affective responses in readers ("The Eye of Power" 26; see also Galperin). I argue further in chapter 7 that, using a rhetoric of portraiture as a midpoint between persons and their prose descriptions, Gothic fiction opens identificatory spaces that rework cultural epistemologies based in relations among words and images.

OUTLINE OF THE BOOK

The first three chapters establish theoretical, historical, cultural, and aesthetic backgrounds and contexts for the more detailed studies of intersections between first-wave Gothic fiction and the rise of picture identification between 1764 and 1835 pursued in chapters 4–10. Chapter 1, "Theory and/of Picture Identification," is devoted to pondering why, in spite of its global ubiquity in establishing social identity, and in spite of literary academia's keen concerns with identity politics and widespread investment in cultural studies, intersections between literature and picture identification have been so understudied. Chapter 2, "The Politics of Picture Identification," introduces the class politics of portraiture in the period and situates the inheritance plots of Gothic fiction in other picture identification contexts, including portraiture theory, print media galleries, and Johann Caspar Lavater's physiognomical portraits. Chapter 3, " 'The Age of Portraiture' and the Portraiture of Politics," turns from the politics of portraiture to its obverse, the portraiture of politics, tracing connections between the downward mobility of portraiture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and debates over the downward mobility of political representation.

Chapters 4 and 5 turn from individual and national politics to the family politics of picture identifications. Chapter 4, "Matriarchal versus Patriarchal Picture Identification," investigates how matriarchal picture identification vies with patriarchal picture identification in the construction of sons and daughters and how such gender politics enters the class war. It goes further to show how matriarchal picture identifications in Gothic fiction undermine, overthrow, and reform patriarchs. Chapter 5, "Portraits, Progeny, Iconolatry, and Iconoclasm," traces ways in which Gothic fiction undermines aristocratic patriarchy by rupturing traditional continuities between portraits and progeny. As progeny seek to possess portraits as property and ancestors possess portraits as ghosts, reciprocal violence erupts. The chapter ponders tensions between the iconolatry and iconoclasm of portraits by progeny and between violent and passive iconoclasm in the contexts of the French Reign of Terror and riots in Britain.

Chapter 6, "Identifying Pictures," attends to the further downward mobility of who was authorized to view and interpret portraits, tracing shifts in power as reader-viewers (rather than sitters, artists, or circulators) are granted the final authority over picture identification. As radically, Gothic fiction grants greater authority to women and servants than to the bourgeois men who preside over picture identification in art criticism and periodical literature. Chapter 7, "Pictures Identifying," inverts the title of chapter 6 to examine how writers and artists manipulate interactions between picture identification's words and images to redistribute social power, challenging major Western models of truth and proof—Judeo-Christian theology and empiricism—in which images prove the truth of words. Chapter 8, "Iconism and the Aesthetics of Gothic Fiction," ponders how an aesthetic and rhetoric of portraiture extend picture identification's chains of imaged, inherent identities into other domains, colonizing the embodied world, the representational world, and the perceptual world and, by extension, the writing of texts, the texts themselves, and the reading of texts.

Social change and social revolution require a restructuring of desire to motivate and drive them; likewise, any attempt to change or revolutionize iconography requires a restructuring of iconophilia. Chapter 9, "Desiring Picture Identification," demonstrates how portraits constitute battlegrounds on which different modes of iconophilia contest. Increasingly, portraits are valued less because they depict nobles or even because they represent middle-class celebrities than because they portray parents, children, siblings, other relations, friends, and lovers. Sentimental iconophilia turns picture identification from titles, proper nouns, achievements, and reputations to common nouns and common social relations. The "proper" iconophilia is not solely the desire for middle-class identities and values; it is more radically, I argue, the desire for mimetic representation *itself*, a middle-class, middle way between desire for the portrait as material object and desire for what the portrait represents. Sentimental iconophilia elides with iconophobia. Robert D. Mayo characterizes Gothic fiction as a genre of "sentimental terror" (766).

Chapter 10, "Fearing Picture Identification," however, is less concerned with interclass iconophobias, which appear throughout the book, than with middle-class phobias of their *own* emerging iconographies. Pressing the downward mobility of portrait and political representation, privileging the authority of representation over the representation of authority, championing mimetic aesthetics, and reworking relations among body, soul, and portrait all produce iconophobic fallout. Specters of further downward mobility to the lower classes arise; more extreme revolutions in relations between representation and represented

threaten. Iconophobias of mimesis include phobias of *loss* of resemblance, *lack* of resemblance, and *excess* resemblance.

My conclusion looks back on the chapters and forward to the next phase in the rise of mass picture identification, the years 1836–1918. Across this gap and the century beyond it, it demonstrates how aspects of picture identification developed in the period 1764–1835 persist today.

These are only some of the issues raised by Gothic picture identification. Given the richness of the subject, it is difficult to understand why so little critical attention has been paid to it. Chapter 1 offers an explanation.

CHAPTER ONE

Theory and/of Picture Identification

> A good portrait cannot be painted without some of the best talents of the poet and of the philosopher.
>
> —Hartley Coleridge,
> "A Modest Defense of Painting" (1832, 33)

We have seen that, in spite of picture identification's global ubiquity in establishing social identity today and current academia's keen interest in identity, picture identification is addressed rarely in literary and cultural studies or by the theories that inform them. Before the theoretical turn, academics neglected picture identification because formalism mandated separatist discussions of aesthetic forms and because picture identification's hybrid verbal-visual intersemiotics challenged disciplinary boundaries, word-and-image hierarchies, and distinctions between "high" and "low" art. After the breakdown of disciplinary boundaries and the rise of cultural studies, identity politics, postmodernism, and poststructuralism, picture identification's emphasis on mimetic resemblance and Gothic associations with humanism, bourgeois individualism, and metaphysics led to a preoccupation with debunking it. Even in the nineteenth century, Theodore Duret opined scornfully, "The triumph of the art of the bourgeoisie is the portrait" (1867, qtd. in West, *Portraiture* 82). Because the central focus of this book is precisely on *how* the bourgeoisie used picture identification to "triumph" repre-

sentationally and socially, it is committed to probing these discredited ideologies, practices, agendas, and narratives.

Although picture identification resonates in various senses as the introduction attests, its baseline definition as a cultural *practice* is the mimetic matching of an embodied, presented face to a named, represented face to establish social identity. All of picture identification's essential ingredients (whatever else it may contain)—proper names, physiognomic faces, and mimetic resemblances—have been attacked unilaterally by otherwise diverging theories as agents of patriarchy, capitalism, individualism, humanism, and a host of other excoriated -isms (sexism, racism, nationalism, etc.). Proper names have been dismantled into common nouns; physiognomic faces have been displaced by bodies; mimetic resemblance has been dismissed as naïve realism. When picture identification has been considered, it has generally been at the level of common nouns, bodies, and collective identities (Rovee; Torpey; Caplan and Torpey) or as a process of subjective, projective (usually psychoanalytic) subject formation rather than a practice of social identification (Fay, *Fashioning Faces*; Wright; Felber). Although these are illuminating studies and critiques of proper nouns, physiognomic faces, and mimetic resemblance have been valuable, a great deal of information has been lost through such emphases and negations.

Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Lacan, arguably the triumvirate of the theoretical turn in the humanities, all favor common over proper nouns. In *Signsponge*, Derrida deconstructs proper nouns (the bedrock of patriarchy) to show their roots in "improper" and common nouns. Deconstructing the proper name, Ponge, to the common noun, *éponge* (sponge), he writes that "the sponge expunges the proper name, puts it outside of itself, effaces and loses it, soils it as well in order to make it into a common noun" (64).

Foucault too is concerned with social identity and identification at the level of common nouns rather than proper names[1]—with the classification of prisoners, the insane, the diseased, and the like.[2] Assessing a portrait, he asserts that

> the proper name . . . is merely an artifice: it gives us a finger to point with . . . to pass surreptitiously from the space where one speaks to the space where one looks; in other words, to fold one over the other as though they were equivalents . . . if one wishes to keep the relation of language to vision open . . . then one must erase those proper names and preserve the infinity of the task. ("Las Meninas" 9–10)

Likewise, the "Name-of-the-Father" that positions the subject in the Lacanian social order moves ambiguously between common and proper nouns: "The Father has so very many [names] that there is no Name which could be his proper name,

except the Name as an existence" (*Ornicar?* 6–7: 7, qtd. in Regnault 73). But when Lacan represents the proper name as a negative number, arguing that it signifies "what the subject is missing in thinking he is exhaustively accounted for by his cogito—he is missing what is unthinkable about him" (qtd. in Fink 134), he shifts the name from "proper" signifier—a specific, positive, social identification—to general, negative, symbolic signification.

In picture identification, the physiognomic face is to the body as the proper noun is to the common noun: conventionally, it denotes a particular as opposed to a generic identity. Because this is a less familiar concept in literary studies, it warrants a fuller introduction. Emmanuel Levinas likens the face to the proper name: it "presents itself in the sense that we say of someone that he presents himself by stating his name, which permits evoking him . . . a presentation which consists in saying 'It's me'—and nothing else to which one might be tempted to assimilate me" (289). Joanna Woodall and other art historians attest to "the nineteenth-century conception of identity as unique, personal individuality, articulated in the face" (5). However, this conception was by no means new to nor did it end with the nineteenth century. James D. Breckenridge documents that, apart from the Greeks, "who always conceived of a portrait as requiring a full body . . . the head and face were considered by early peoples the essential elements, the only indispensable means, for establishing individual identity" (10).[3] Plutarch observes that "painters get the likenesses in their portraits from the face and the expression of the eyes, wherein the character shows itself, but make little account of the other parts of the body" (*Life of Alexander* 1:2–3). Scholars of ancient communities offer linguistic and epigraphic evidence that the Mayan word for *face* is also the word for *self* (Houston and Stuart). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, portraitists focus principally on the face, using pattern books and assistants to paint bodies (West, *Portraiture* 11). A letter to the *Spectator* makes portraiture and face painting interchangeable, the latter being "nowhere so well performed as in England" (Weather-Glass 1712, 158). An 1806 account by painter Roger Ker Porter indicates the centrality of the face to both social and picture identification:

> While Peter the First was traveling in Holland in his usual incognito style, he stopped at an inn on the road for refreshments. He was shown into a room where a large picture hung at the upper end: it was a portrait. And as he sat at his meal, he observed the landlord look several times from him to the portrait and from the portrait to him with a kind of comparing scrutiny. "Whose picture is that?" inquired the emperor.

> "The tsar of Muscovy," replied the man; "it was brought to me from Paris and every body says it is his very self. And I was thinking it was very like you, sir."
>
> Peter made no answer to this latter observation, but . . . sent the landlord out of the room on some excuse; then taking a knife from his pocket, cut the head from the shoulders of the portrait and put it in his bosom. . . . This act was to prevent his being recognized as he proceeded by any who might have afterwards stopped at the same inn and, like the landlord, have perceived the resemblance. (269)

The idea that the face indicates individual identity while the body does not persists in contemporary Western culture in the disembodied faces of our picture IDs and in the widespread consensus that blurring the face *alone* in photographic, film, and television images precludes individual identification.

Cognitive anthropologists document the long-standing priority of faces in social recognition, claiming that they are "the most significant socio-biological stimuli in our environment":

> Though we can identify people from a variety of different sources of information, including voice, gait, and name, the most significant means is undoubtedly from the face. . . . For our ancestors, the rapid and accurate reaction to [faces] was a matter of crucial importance. Social animals need to distinguish in-group from out-group members and to discriminate high- from low-status members, as well as recognize those who are kin from those unrelated. The face provides the richest source of identity information and conveys details of health, age, attractiveness, intentions, mood, etc. The systems supporting face recognition are also linked to those that interpret expression, assist oral language comprehension, and make various attributions concerning factors, such as race. (Ellis et al. 88, 95).

Writing in 1831, John Gray advocates the exceptional capacity for face recognition as the best means of preventing forgery:

> Let his Majesty's Government cause every note in the United Kingdom, of whatever value and of whatever bank, to be impressed with an engraving consisting chiefly of human faces . . . that the public . . . whilst in the act of counting the notes, would as easily distinguish counterfeits from originals as they now distinguish one man from another . . . Animals, plants, and flowers . . . are seldom so closely observed, but that others, very different in reality, may be mistaken for them. . . . There is, however, one thing, and one only, that I know of in which the smallest difference strikes us instantly—I mean the human countenance—the thing of all others in the world in which old and young, rich and poor, literate and illiterate are most in the habit of distinguishing minute differences. . . . It is here, and here only, that the

> smallest possible difference changes the expression and tells us at a glance that the thing is not the same. (135–6)

Gray proposes face recognition as a democratizing epistemology of social identification, one that "On Teaching by Pictures" (1834) extends to picture identification. Describing a two-year-old's capacity to name the subjects of pictures, it deems "his knowledge of the plants, statues, and portraits, the most remarkable; of the two latter subjects I suppose there must be nearly forty and, as the style of their execution and their size are so nearly the same, he could have nothing to guide him *but his knowledge of their faces*" (265, emphasis added).

Yet in spite of (or perhaps because of) the centrality of physiognomic faces in social identification and their claims to a simultaneously sophisticated *and* universal legibility, recent scholars have worked as assiduously to undermine and dismantle physiognomic faces as they have proper names. Faces have been severed from or synecdochally conflated with Foucaultian, performative, and psychoanalytic bodies. They have, together with such bodies, been wiped into blank surfaces for discursive inscriptions (Foucault), performativities (Butler), mimicries (Bhabba), and psychoanalytic projections (Freud; Klein; Lacan). They have been made undifferentiated carriers of the psychoanalytic gaze (Cole 4) and eradicated from the "faceless gaze" of Foucaultian surveillance (*Discipline and Punish* 214). Physiognomic faces have been abstracted into "machines of faciality," as applicable to landscapes as persons. According to the chief proponents of this view, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, "Faces are not basically individual; they define zones of frequency or probability" navigating between signification and subjectivity. And they maintain simultaneously, "The head is included in the body, but the face is not" and "the entire body can be facialized" (*A Thousand Plateaus* 186–8, 202). Contradictory as these two claims appear, they are consonant in their efforts to diminish the physiognomic face. Intriguingly, art historian Shearer West documents "a shift of attention from the face to the body" in portraiture after World War II. The shift has been accompanied by "a renewed interest in [the] tradition of social role-playing and masquerade" and "the significance of self-portraiture as a means of exploring sexuality, gender, and ethnicity" (*Portraiture* 205–6). It may be that portraiture has led rather than followed academic theory. Fay reads the head in Romantic portraiture as a synecdoche for the body (*Fashioning Faces* 63), allowing her to subject it to psychoanalytic analyses. Concerns with the body rather than the physiognomic face correspond to concerns with common-noun rather than proper-noun identities.

Picture identification has been further opposed by academics because it aims

and claims to establish social identity positively and mimetically in a poststructuralist and postmodernist climate that denies the possibility of positive identification, conflates mimesis with naïve realism, and insists that signification occurs solely through difference and not through resemblance. Historians are unanimous that passports from the late eighteenth century sought "techniques for uniquely and unambiguously identifying each and every person on the face of the globe" (Torpey 7). "The passport must be unique, signifying a unique individual," and the examiner must "determine if the passport is uniquely identical with the individual" (Salter 130). Both the objectivism and individualism of these aims are anathema to mainstream humanities theories. Scholars are far more concerned with how picture identification establishes common-noun categories of nation, race, gender, sexuality, disability, and criminality (e.g., Torpey; Vacca; van der Ploeg) than with how it establishes individual identity. Left-wing scholars address individual identity only to attack it as irredeemably complicit with patriarchal, capitalist, bourgeois, and right-wing ideologies, arguing that individual identity is the collective identity of the middle classes. However, such reductive debunkings obscure the varied and complex ways in which identity as selfsameness vies with identity as sameness with others between 1764 and 1835. *Belleville Lodge* (1793) illustrates:

> "I have seen your picture, Maria, and you are one and the same . . . examine every feature; you will find them all your own." (1.122–3)
>
> "[L]ed by the guide in the miniature, we discovered a separation which by sliding out dropped the picture of Augustus . . . to put it beyond a doubt was wrote on the other side—Maria, behold your brother." (1.143)
>
> "[You must be] the dead duke and duchess's child . . . by what you do tell of your being so like his picture." (2.316)

Picture identification in this novel produces both individual and affiliative identities to contest class values. Rising individualism in the nineteenth century and existentialism in the early twentieth century, however, pressed picture identification and concepts of social identity away from sameness with others toward selfsameness. Increasingly one became identified by resemblance to one's own picture rather than to the pictures of others. Intriguingly, DNA is restoring today the older dialectic between familial and individual identity, a subject I address below and in my conclusion. The point to stress here is that a theoretical paradigm decreeing individualism a collective identity often obscures the tensions that

picture identification forges between identity as resemblance to oneself and as resemblance to others, a tension that subsequent chapters treat in greater detail.

In addition to its ties to individual identity, picture identification has been critiqued for seeking to establish unambiguous identity. Humanities academia's embrace of post-Cartesian philosophy, which makes objective knowledge an impossibility, dictates that "identity" can be read only subjectively. As a result, psychoanalytic projection, Freudian fetish, and object relations theory have dominated theoretically informed studies of portraiture and picture identification. Elizabeth A. Fay's wide-ranging, scrupulously researched *Fashioning Faces: The Portraitive Mode in British Romanticism* illustrates that "portraitive practices provided an increasingly self-conscious Romantic period public with the means by which one could recognize oneself in, and project oneself onto a rapidly changing world" (4). Julie Park's *The Self and It: Novel Objects and Mimetic Subjects in Eighteenth-Century England* argues similarly that "the language of objects constituted a way of defining the self through things" (xix). Her concluding chapter anachronistically "renders Freud as an epiphenomenon of the eighteenth century" (190). By contrast, Catherine M. Soussloff rejects prevailing views that the birth of the modern subject derives from German philosophy and psychoanalysis, arguing that it hails from the Vienna theory and practice of portraiture (15). Although my research concurs with Soussloff's in identifying a rift between mainstream academic theories of identity and mainstream cultural practices of identification, it is less concerned with the formation of the *subjective* modern self than with cultural practices and mythologies of *social* identification. Certainly, the perception of images and the consumption of objects construct subjectivities; however, these relations have been widely discussed. My research considers how cultural narratives shape the ways in which images are produced and perceived to construct individual and familial identities and, concomitantly, how images determine the ways in which cultural narratives of identity are written and read.

Joining psychoanalytic emphases on subjectivity, the philosophical emphases of the theoretical turn have led to a tendency to abstract portraiture, most notably in Fay's "portraitive mode," which extends "visual portraiture" and "textual biography" "into the material culture of the period as intertextual and intervisual artifacts that are absorbed into the production of identity" (*Fashioning Faces*, 21). Christopher Rovee similarly does not distinguish verbal from pictorial portraits but addresses "shared cultural assumptions that span the pictorial and verbal" (8). Susan Stewart abstracts the miniature "as a metaphor for the interior space and time of the bourgeois subject" (xii), an abstraction that allows her to ad-

dress miniature writing and miniature portraits in the same terms. While such methodologies enable illuminating interdisciplinary crossings, their ideological, dematerializing abstractions obscure distinctions among cultural forms. Stewart grants only a few pages to miniature portraits (125–7) and her brilliant ruminations on miniature writing and dolls' houses do little to illuminate miniature portraiture as a cultural practice. Moreover, her arguments, governed by Derridean, Lacanian, and Baudrillardian concepts, override the historical ideologies informing portraiture in other epochs. While I by no means advocate the abandonment of contemporary theories to read cultural forms solely in the context of historical ideas, I aim to recover some of the cultural mythologies that have been lost as literary and cultural theories reject older ideologies of picture identification and some of the material specificities that have been forsaken when critics conflate verbal and visual pictures. At the same time, I acknowledge that my recoveries and analyses are possible only because of the ways in which the theoretical turn has opened up new ways of thinking about and new methodologies for studying cultural practices.

Nowhere is the rift between postmodern and historical theories more marked than in the discourse on resemblance. Recent theorists and critics object to picture identification's claim that mimetic resemblance establishes social identity. After all, it is not so much pictures or even persons that produce picture identifications as *perceptions of resemblances* between persons and pictures that do so. Admittedly, the perception of resemblance is a subjective, mental process; however, postmodern and poststructuralist theories are opposed to resemblance *even as a mode of subjectivity*, debunking it as illusive and oppressive. By contrast, it is impossible to overstate the importance of resemblance to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century philosophy, psychology, politics, empiricism, logic, ethics, aesthetics, and rhetoric, in spite of Foucault's influential but erroneous claim that it was only "up to the end of the sixteenth century [that] resemblance played a role in the knowledge of Western culture" ("Las Meninas" 17).[4] In 1835 political writer Samuel Bailey claims that "there is nothing existing in nature which has not certain points of resemblance with something else" (642). Resemblance is central to theories of logic, correspondence theories of truth, and empiricism. Resemblance pervades the rhetoric and practice of picture identification. *Portrait*, *picture*, *resemblance*, and *likeness* were all synonyms between 1764 and 1835. In 1824 Caleb Pitt nominates portraiture a "fit simile of resemblance"; a portrait in Ann of Kent's *The Castle of Villeroy* (1827) is "the resemblance of a countenance . . . an excellent likeness" (130).

By contrast, in recent philosophy, epistemologies based in resemblance have been widely discredited for their perceived complicity with "naïve realism."[5] *Naïve realism*, also called *direct realism*, denotes a "commonsense" view of perception—a belief that the world is as it is perceived, without the shaping of intermediate sensations, sense data, representations, or ideologies. Bertrand Russell's *An Inquiry into Meaning and Truth* offers a foundational critique. However, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century theories of mind are keenly vested in intermediate sensations and representations; they understand forging identity as an active production rather than a naïve perception of resemblances (see chapter 6); portraiture theory similarly makes picture identification a chain of resembling images that, never identical, allow for difference and otherness (see chapter 2). My research indicates that social identity both then and now is located not so much in names or faces or their extensions in discourses and bodies, or even in identity documents (including picture identification), but in the *resemblances* traced among all of these. Such resemblances are far from naïve or simple: they are complex, variable, contested, and politically radical, as well as conservative. Resemblances are slippery, manipulable, fluid forms, ideal for laying claim to what one does not possess and for incrementally shifting cultural ideologies and the balance of power. Subsequent chapters detail how Gothic fiction and other discourses of picture identification in the period rework traditional parallel chains of imaged identity running from father to son to grandson and soul to body to portrait to undermine aristocratic identities and valorize bourgeois ones. More insidiously, these discourses turn to resemblance to forge connections among different kinds of *resemblances*, asserting that resemblances in one domain resemble those in another. For example, making connections between mimetic portraiture and mimetic political representation, bourgeois writers demand representation by men resembling themselves in the House of Commons (see chapter 3). Anchoring their classed virtues and values to mimesis and debunking aristocratic virtues as illusory or, worse still, as vices, the bourgeoisie reidentify what constitutes social and moral value (see chapters 2, 3, and 9). Asserting that the resemblances of picture identification resemble those of both perception *and* memory, they claim the truth, naturalness, and self-evidence of their epistemologies of social identification (see chapter 5, 6, and 7).

Between 1764 and 1835, the middling classes also rework narratives of resemblance to lay claim to the privileges, prerogatives, power, and property of the higher classes. In the 1790s, far from being the unilateral ally of conservatism, political radicals set mimetic representation against idealist, elitist aesthetics of

political representation (see chapter 3). Resemblance grants even infants—who lack legal, physical, performative, and discursive power—social authority. A Gothic heroine envisions the "bitter and inveterate prejudices [of her mother-in-law giving] way . . . when she saw in a lovely and innocent infant the representative of a son whom she had driven to despair" (Charlotte Turner Smith, *Montalbert*, 1795, 3.294). The infant's lack of other modes of power (e.g., speech, physical power, performativity) heightens the power of resemblance. Such power is not simply psychological; it is also social and economic, as this infant lays claim to titles, property, wealth, and position through family resemblance.

More centrally, however, scholars object to resemblance because of its perceived complicity with metaphysics. In *Acts of Literature*, Derrida critiques logocentrism by analogy to "the *image* in general (the icon or phantasm)," arguing that concepts of immanence lay claim to the image "being none other than the thing or the meaning of the thing itself, its manifest presence" (141). The fallacious logos is for Derrida "a sort of primary painting, profound and invisible" (140), organizing its system "by this relation of repetition, resemblance . . . doubling, duplication, this sort of specular process and play of reflections" (135–6).

Portraiture theory, which informs picture identification, is certainly metaphysical. Although, for Fay, "[r]epresentation breaks down into an opposition between re-presenting and substituting" (*Fashioning Faces* 33), portraiture theory has held for millennia that persons are not simply represented and substituted by their portraits but that persons *inhere* in their portraits. Richard Brilliant observes that, in many cultural contexts, "the sign function of the portrait is so strong that it seems to be some form of substitution for the original"(40). It is so, however, because the signified is assumed to inhere in the signifier, blurring their distinctions. Soussloff articulates "the functional dialectic" of portraiture: "The truth claim of an indexical exteriority or resemblance to the person portrayed simultaneously coexists in the genre with a claim to the representation of interiority or spirituality" (5).

Portraiture scholars are unanimous in locating Western portraiture's theories of immanence in both Christian theology, in which the image manifests the immanent presence of what it represents (e.g., Soussloff 6), and classical theories of forms and essences, in which essence inheres in form. Theories of immanence and inherence are, however, not unique to Western portraiture. Breckenridge documents beliefs in many ancient cultures that "the representation of the face shares its essential identity" (87, 90). Even today, aesthetic theory mandates that portraits resemble the interiorities of their subjects, whether or not they resemble their bodies mimetically. In *The Portrait Now*, Sandy Naime and Sarah Howgate

advise: "The portrait should allow something of someone's personal interior life to be made available in public" (7).

Like mimetic resemblance, immanence and inherence have been widely critiqued. For Deleuze and Guattari, "the plane of immanence" is the point at which "immanence is no longer immanence to anything other than itself"; it is purely self-referential (*What Is Philosophy?* 47). Jean Baudrillard progresses to a similar conclusion through his four "successive phases of the image":

> It is the reflection of a profound reality.
> It masks and denatures a profound reality.
> It masks the *absence* of a profound reality.
> It has no relation to any reality whatsoever: it is its own pure simulacrum.
>
> (6, emphasis in original)

The inherent image belongs to the first, which Baudrillard nominates "the sacramental order." The last phase resembles Deleuze and Guattari's "plane of immanence": with the advent of simulation and simulacra, "all of metaphysics . . . is lost. No more mirror of being and appearances, of the real and its concept" (Baudrillard 2). Although Baudrillard situates the final phase in the latter twentieth century, numerous critics have read the images of earlier periods anachronistically according to its paradigms (e.g., Fay, *Fashioning Faces*; Hogle). My research indicates that between 1764 and 1835 picture identification does not so much posit a relationship between the image and a "profound reality" as a relationship between *social identity* and images. It is not so much that the soul inheres in the body or the body in the portrait: rather, it is their *images* that do. The image, while proclaiming inherence, thus always remains at a distance from essentialism.

Today, new practices of social identification are problematizing Baudrillard's fourth phase of the image. Baudrillard follows his declaration of the end of metaphysics with: "No more imaginary coextensivity: it is *genetic* miniaturization" (2, emphasis added). Even as humanities scholars were dismantling metaphysics, a scientific rhetoric of inherent imaged identity was developing in genetics (Ballonoff and Weiss 220; Gaudillière and Löwy 14; Schmuhl 59). Genetics shares an etymology with genesis and the book of Genesis. Like the theologies of imaged identity that underlie picture identification, addressed further in chapter 2, genetic science locates social identity in origins, genealogies, and representational traces left by bodies. In genetic theory, the body is made in the image of its DNA, and the DNA of forebears inheres in descendants. Genetic theorists engage metaphysical, humanist rhetoric. James Watson, director of the Human Genome Project, has proclaimed that DNA is "what makes us human" (cited in

Nelkin and Lindee 40). Conversely, both theologians and New Age physiognomists, whose debunked metaphysics underlie theories of Western portraiture, have used genetics to support their theories (e.g., Tickle; Dierickx).

Yet recent literary and cultural critics by and large oppose any concept of inherent identity, whether located in God, the soul, genetics, or culture.[6] The two words most often modifying "inherent identity" in such critiques are "ineffable" and "static," epitomized by Siân Jones's rejection of "ineffable, static, and inherent identity" (63). While objections to ineffable identities are nothing new, the reasons for opposing them have changed. David Hume objects to them on rational and empirical grounds in *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739–40); more recently, Jones and others protest that ineffable identities resist representation and authorize unjust social structures. However, my research demonstrates that inherence has been used to *undermine* hierarchies and to express reciprocal as well as multiple, fragmented, and conflicted relations that disrupt the status quo. Indeed, neither Judeo-Christian iconography nor classical physiognomy nor modern genetics represents inherent imaged identity as static. Theologians are preoccupied with the loss, distortion, and hoped-for restoration of the *imago dei* (Milton's *Paradise Lost* offers a literary example); Lavater argues that environmental influences override inherited physiognomies (*Essays* 1.199); genetics is by definition the study of *variation* in heredity, and geneticists are unanimous that DNA is shaped by environmental factors, that genes mutate and become recessive, and that many genes never manifest at all. Inherent imaging, then, is by no means synonymous with stasis or inevitability. Nor does picture identification fix identity; it is a changing and adaptable form. Passports have to be continually renewed; moreover, my passport allows me to cross national borders, figuring me as a national on one side and a foreigner on the other.

Imaged identity never becomes distilled to an essentialist identity; other identities always inhere in it. Imaged identities are never single or unitary; they are always multiple, fragmented, and changing and often pit one set of inherent images against another. Concomitantly, imaged identity is never totalized identity; it is always partial, an aspect of identity. Moreover, the image always differs from what it images; it is never identical with it. Identity as inherent imaging, then, articulates an affiliative relationship that positions the image as both the link to and the point of rupture from other identities.

Humanities scholars further object to resemblance in a theoretical climate all but unanimous that signification of all kinds—not just social identification—is predicated on difference. Joining Derrida, the most famous theorist of difference, Deleuze argues that "difference is the only principle of genesis or production"

(*Nietzsche and Philosophy* 157). In *Difference and Repetition*, he attacks identity, opposition, analogy, and resemblance, arguing that repetitions are masks for disguised and displaced differentials. In *The Birth of the Clinic*, Foucault complains of dense "similarities" that "cross the threshold of mere kinship and accede to a unity of essence." Denying "fundamental difference" to the differentiations of classificatory systems, he claims that they create "a flat, homogeneous, nonmeasurable world" with a single essence manifesting "a plethora of similarities" (5–6). Like Derrida, Foucault makes portraiture an analogy through which to critique verbal discourses. Although the nineteenth-century writer he critiques addresses the infinite complexities and minute details of human faces and the challenges of representing them in portraits, Foucault sees only a "flat surface," "perpetual simultaneity," and resemblance claiming to essentialism (5). Foucault's dismissal of portraiture discourse here is itself decidedly flat and reductive.

Difference, far from being occluded by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century discourses of resemblance, is central to them. Rather than pressing equations between resemblance and essential identity, philosophers, philologists, political theorists, and logicians admonish readers to avoid such conflations. Although Hume agrees that "there exists a logical passage from the like to the same," he warns that "resemblance is the cause of . . . confusion and mistake and makes us substitute the notion of identity instead of that of related objects" (*Human Nature* 314). In *English Synonyms Explained* (1818), philologist George Crabb advises that "whatever things are alike are alike in their essential properties; but they may resemble in a partial degree, or in certain particulars, but are otherwise essentially different" (642). Crabb makes clear that "exact resemblance" means "accurate resemblance," not identicality (426). Similarly, the oxymoronic reference to one person as "the identical image" of another in Regina Maria Roche's *The Tradition of the Castle* (1824) demonstrates that difference remains even in an "identical image" (230).

Yet in recent literary and cultural criticism, resemblance has been positioned as the oppositional other, the obscurer of difference, that from which difference needs to be differentiated in order to emerge as difference. Nancy Armstrong's argument that the photographic portrait "acquired meaning and value as the image of a particular individual, not because of any resemblance it might bear to that individual, but by virtue of its difference from the images of all other such individuals" is representative of how such paradigms have overridden and obscured historical understandings and practices of portraiture ("Monarchy" 502). Resemblance has become the repressed, negated, oppositional other of difference. But resemblance is not the binary opposite, the antagonist of difference,

for it incorporates difference. Each of the multiple resemblances within any single imaged identity carries a host of differences embedded within it. For example, the resembling proper names and physiognomic faces of picture identification engage in interplay between resemblance and difference. Forenames differentiate those sharing surnames; physiognomic variations differentiate family members sharing facial resemblances. We have seen that facial recognition was in 1831 reckoned the best way to offset forgery: "It is here, and here only, that the smallest possible difference changes the expression and tells us at a glance that the thing is not the same" (Gray 135–6). In his lecture "On Poesy and Art" (1818), Samuel Taylor Coleridge decrees mimetic portraiture to be a place of "total difference": in "a work of genuine imitation, you begin with an acknowledged total difference and then every touch of nature gives you the pleasure of an approximation to truth" (2.162). Charlotte Turner Smith's *Celestina* (1791) traces sameness and difference in a picture identification:

> I surely see a resemblance—a very strong resemblance—between this picture and Miss de Mornay. Bless me, how very like the shape of the face, the mouth, the dark-brown eyebrow, the color of the eyes, the setting on of the hair round the forehead and temples; except that it is less fair, that the features are proportionably larger, and that you wear a cap, in truth, my dear friend, it might have been drawn for you. (3.13)

Citing Charles Bonnet's intriguing concept of "resembling difference" ("Are the germs of one and the same species of organized bodies perfectly like each other, or individually distinct . . . or have they a resembling difference to each other?"), Lavater responds: "If we consider the infinite variety to be observed in all the products of nature, the latter will appear most probable" (*Physiognomy*, 1826, 147–8).

If resemblance does not reduce to the naïve realism or essentialism to which so many critics have consigned it, neither does it reduce to the various forms of difference that they champion. It is not the "same difference" as existentialist othering, binary opposition, Marxist dialectics, projective identification, or deconstructive *différance*. The differences of resemblance are more complex, nuanced, and variable than those of binary oppositions; John Stuart Mill notes that "resemblance may exist in all conceivable gradations, from perfect undistinguishableness to something very slight indeed" (47). The differences of resemblance are less oppositional than those of binary opposition, constructing a subtler otherness, an incorporated otherness, a similar otherness, an insidious otherness. In resemblance, difference does not disappear, but synonyms take priority over antonyms to constrain difference and preclude entirely random difference.

Indeed, what we see is that difference is not the binary opposite of resemblance. Psychoanalytic theories of projection acknowledge (con)fusions of sameness and difference and of self and other; scholars who deconstruct binary oppositions do so by locating similarities and resemblances amid differences. Derrida's best-known deconstruction of a proper name to common nouns—Francis to *françois*, *franc*, and *français* and Ponge to *éponge*—depends on phonetic and graphic resemblances (the resembling repetition of *franc*, *ponge*, etc.) to demonstrate semantic *différance* (*Signéponge/Signsponge* 62–72). Although he rejects the absent presence of an original signified or proper name, his practices of deconstruction produce signs and meanings as *inhering* in each other, even as they differ, and his concepts of deferral evoke the absent presence of signification. Concomitantly, to perceive or say that something is like or the same requires gaps and deferral. At the core of deconstruction, then, resemblance emerges as difference's obscured, subjugated, and complicit other. Today resemblance is reemerging as a central dynamic in biology and physics in chaos theory, Mandelbrot's theory of self-similarity, and genetic repetition with variation. Resemblance marks the return of difference's repressed.

Resemblance harnesses the power of both metaphoric inherence and metonymic displacement. Between 1764 and 1835, resemblance was a perfect paradigm for a population torn between progress and nostalgia. The differences in resemblance left spaces for identities to diverge, change, grow, and metamorphose; the similarities provided a sense of continuity amid rapid change. Resemblance did not require any particular aspect of identity to remain permanent or fixed in order to signify as resemblance, as one set of resemblances could migrate gradually into another, leaving nothing from a prior set of resemblances. Resemblance was an ideal form for a rising middle class seeking to take over the prerogatives, power, privilege, property, and even pedigrees of the established aristocracy. As a composite of sameness and difference, it allowed them to simultaneously lay claim to and reject the aristocratic identities to which they aspired. The class contests waged through picture identification pit different types of resemblances against each other in the period. Today, in spite of movements toward impressionism and abstraction in art and literature and to philosophical abstraction in academia, and in spite of an almost unanimous emphasis on difference and subjectivity as the only valid bases of identity and signification, mimetic resemblance remains central to picture identification and other social identification practices.

Even so, when picture identification has been addressed by recent scholars, its chief components and historical theories are rarely considered, except to dismiss and debunk them. Instead, scholars have subjected it to twentieth-century

theories—most commonly Freudian fetish (Felber), psychoanalytic mourning and melancholia (Wright), Lacanian projection (Felber), Baudrillardian simulacra (Hogle), critiques of consumerism (Wright), and Foucaultian surveillance (Torpey; Caplan and Torpey). Following Foucault's discussion of "Las Meninas," scholars analyzing portraits dismiss the proper names, identifiable faces, and mimetic aesthetics that constitute picture identification. Nancy Armstrong's *How Novels Think: The Limits of British Individualism from 1719–1900* opens with a discussion of a portrait. Immediately dismissing questions that would have been raised in the nineteenth century—the identity and physiognomy of its sitter—Armstrong raises modernist questions of subjective identity and expressivity instead, asking "what would produce such an expression on the child's face" (2), and then progresses swiftly to postmodern self-reflexivity and projective identification with the claim "that expression invites us to imagine ourselves in his place, wearing the same expression" (2). This may be so, but it is not solely so. As prevailing critical taboos preclude raising the *other* questions, as the subjectivity of the subject is absorbed into the ideologically constrained projective identity of the scholar, who calls the scholarly reader to join in the projection, portraiture as a mode of social identification is abandoned and present-day cultural theory ruptures from historical cultural practice and discourse.

This tendency appears in art as well as literary studies; Marcia Pointon's impressive *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, to which my research is greatly indebted, also sidesteps picture identification's components and some of the historical theories that inform it. While Pointon's declared aim is "to demonstrate . . . precisely what portraiture meant in terms of eighteenth-century English culture and society," she swiftly dismisses questions of mimetic resemblance and individual identification as "demonstrably irrelevant" and "immaterial," insisting that "the discursive and symbolic values of portraiture subsume questions of referentiality" (9, 1, 8). This may be so in 1990s academia, but mimetic resemblance and individual identification are inextricably tied up with "what portraiture meant in terms of eighteenth-century English culture and society" and with the discursive and symbolic values of portraiture; moreover, they remain essential to understanding how named portraits continue to construct social identity today.

Academic studies of physiognomy have for similar reasons migrated from readings of individual identities to analyzing its uses in classifying groups, following identity politics' emphasis on common noun groups, as Graeme Tytler's work, spanning two decades, illustrates. His *Physiognomy in the European Novel: Faces and Fortunes* presents physiognomic readings of individual literary charac-

ters; more than two decades later, his edited collection (with Melissa Percival), *Physiognomy in Profile: Lavater's Impact on European Culture*, emphasizes physiognomy's classification of common noun groups. Physiognomical studies, such as Lucy Hartley's *Physiognomy and the Meaning of Expression in Nineteenth-Century Culture*, have further shifted the focus from physiognomy (the study of facial features) to pathognomy (the study of facial expression), following prevailing academic emphases on subjective identity and projective identification. Although Brilliant laments "the way portraits stifle the analysis of representation" (8), mainstream academia has to my mind equally stifled the representation of portraits and picture identification. In the name of combating essentialism, picture identification has been treated essentially; in the name of championing freedom, it has been treated censoriously; in the name of fostering diversity, it has been treated narrowly.

Portraiture is discredited even in the one discipline that still addresses its proper names, physiognomic faces, and mimetic metaphysics: art studies. Heather McPherson confirms that "portraiture as an artistic genre has remained understudied, aesthetically problematic, and critically suspect" (2). Mimesis lies at the base of portraiture's low standing in the Renaissance, which favored idealism, and in the modern period, which favored abstraction (West, *Portraiture* 12). Even so, my study is greatly indebted to portraiture scholarship, which acknowledges portraiture's role in social identification:

> Here are the essential constituents of a person's identity: a recognized or recognizable appearance; a given name that refers to no one else; a social, interactive function that can be defined; in context, a pertinent characterization; and a consciousness of the distinction between one's own person and another's and of the possible relationship between them. (Brilliant 9)

Woodall affirms that "the history of portraiture will be closely connected with changes in beliefs about the nature of personal identity" (9). The remainder of this book examines how changing and contested theories and practices of picture identification altered beliefs about the nature of identity between 1764 and 1835.

CHAPTER TWO

The Politics of Picture Identification

> A portrait of real authenticity we know is truth itself and calls up so many collateral ideas, as to fill an intelligent mind more than any other species of painting.
>
> —Samuel Johnson, qtd. in Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* (1782, 547)

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the middle classes were impinging on aristocratic power and property, as they had been since the Renaissance: so much so, that Vicesimus Knox—headmaster, minister, and scourger of aristocrats (1752–1821)—rejoices in 1793:

> Since the first institution of nobility, a new race of nobles . . . has arisen among us. . . . Commerce, manufacturers, and our East Indian connections have raised great numbers to princely opulence and princely state, whom the ancient nobility would have retained in the humblest obscurity as vassals. (*Personal Nobility* 114)

However, these are not princes, but princely through wealth. Similarly, when Knox asserts that "there is many a nobleman, according to the genuine idea of nobility, even at the loom, at the plow, and in the shop and many more in the middle ranks of mixed society" ("Illustrious Birth" 58), these are adjectival, metaphorical rather than nominative, actual nobles. Although he mandates that "the

nobility of civil establishment must yield to the nobility of nature and virtue" (*Personal Nobility* 116), his metaphorical noblemen remain at the loom, at the plow, and in the shop, while noblemen of "civil establishment" reside in their mansions, on their estates, and in the House of Lords.

By the year 1820, the radical author William Cobbett indicates that middle-class encroachments on upper-class power had extended beyond adjectives and metaphors to occupation of the landed seats that are its economic and symbolic bases:

> Great progress has already been made in transferring the estates from the ancient gentry and nobles to the men of paper. In my native parish, *Weaverly Abbey*, formerly the seat of *Sir Robert Rich*, is now the seat of a *Mr. Thompson*, a wine merchant, and *Moore Park*, rendered famous by being the seat of *Sir William Temple*, is now the seat of a *Mr. Timson*, a spirit merchant. (770–1, emphasis in original)

Men of paper become men of property; knights cede to tradesmen in bloodless battles; ancestral spirits yield to "a spirit merchant."

Even so, there are limits to how far a Timson or Thompson can impinge on aristocratic positions. The titles of duke, marquis, viscount, and baron—titles that come with a seat in the House of Lords—can be neither bought nor earned. Even Knox concedes that "wealth, in a free country, will give power and power, every real privilege of nobility but the title" (*Personal Nobility* 114).

When the bourgeoisie cannot claim lineal identities in *esse*, they do so in *posse*. Counterpoising Fundholders to Landholders, Cobbett documents that the former

> have a great taste, in general, for family memorials. They soon get *coats of arms* and they seem to have an instinct that leads them to the possession of ancient seats . . . Fundholders will . . . form very good *families*. They have a natural taste for the thing . . . do you not see how soon they fill their houses with "*old family pictures*" [?] . . . The curious matter to ascertain, in such cases, would be where the old family pictures were kept while the successive heads of the family were shop-men or shoe-blacks. (769–70, emphasis in original)

"My Father's Portrait" (anon. 1823) ascertains the "curious matter" when its nouveau riche buys portraits to fictionalize a genealogy: " 'I have just,' said he, laughing, 'made a purchase of a whole family. I have bought of a picture-dealer a father, a mother, two uncles, three aunts, and half a dozen ancestors, of whom you know I am somewhat deficient' " (507). Because the portraits do not represent distinguished men and women, he commissions an artist to construct them as such:

> [M]ake of these five portraits an archbishop, a president of parliament, a colonel, a captain of the navy, and a lieutenant of dragoons . . . make of these three ladies (*the aunts*) a canoness, a mistress of honor, and an abbess of the convent of Montmartre; of these two gentlemen (*his uncles*) a cardinal and a field marshal; of this (*his mother*) a lady of the highest distinction. (507, emphasis in original)

As he has done himself, he seeks to vest these portraits with the trappings of social status. However, when one of them turns out to be a portrait of the artist's own father, the artist objects: "It cannot be your father, since it is most certainly *mine* . . . it is impossible to make any other of this than what he was—an honest grocer—my beloved father!" The artist resists his father's upward mobility through picture identification, insisting upon an essential identity for him based in private morality and public profession. But the nouveau riche counters: "That is nothing; the picture is my property; I have purchased it; it belongs to me. I may dispose of it as I think proper, and I mean to make it a brigadier-general to the king" (507).

Here and elsewhere, picture identification constitutes a cultural, representational space in which identities and ideologies contest for power, resources, and positions. From the Renaissance, aristocratic ideologies of portraiture had vied and collaborated with nonaristocratic ones in the production of privileged social identities. For Michael McKeon, " 'Aristocratic ideology' names the impulse, operative in a wide diversity of cultures, to conceal the perennial alteration in ruling elites by naturalizing those elites as a unity of status and virtue, the ongoing 'rule of the best' " (169). It maintains "a unity of status and virtue" in part through its ideologies, practices, and narratives of picture identification. These are predicated upon principles of resemblance, likeness, and imaging rooted in the *imago dei* (man made in the image of God). Although aristocratic philosophy holds that all men are made in the image of God, it deems that some are made more in God's image than others and are therefore entitled to more power and privilege on earth. James I's writings locate the divine right of kings in resemblance and likeness to the God they image:

> Kings are justly called gods, for that they exercise a manner or *resemblance* of divine power upon earth. . . . God hath power to create or destroy, make or unmake at his pleasure, to give life or send death, to judge all and to be judged . . . accountable to none; to raise low things and to make high things low at his pleasure. . . . And the *like* power have kings: they make and unmake their subjects; they have power of raising and casting down, of life and of death, [to judge] . . . all their subjects, and yet [are] accountable to none but God only. (James I, 1609, 307, emphasis added)

Divine right extends from royals to aristocrats, as Thomas Silver affirms in 1835:

> A divine right was given to the occupation of the land . . . these three rights arose together, the right of appropriation of land, of primogeniture, and of the priesthood in the State. They are essentially connected with and support each other, and the whole frame of human order, from the very earliest times, was built upon them. (Review of Rev. Dr. Thomas Silver's *A Memorial* 520)

Judeo-Christian theologies locate the *imago dei* in the soul (Gunton; K. A. Richardson; Middleton). According to aristocratic ideology, the soul's *imago dei* manifests in virtues derived from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (wisdom, courage, magnificent generosity, loyalty, friendship, and magnanimity, or justified pride); neoclassical virtues of martial prowess, chivalry, valor, honor, prudence, justice, self-mastery, mastery over others; and Christian ideals of faith, hope, and charity (see Mills). Such virtues are deemed to manifest visibly in bodies and portraits; aristocratic identity, then, is constructed as a chain of images:

the soul (made in the image of God)
↓
the body (made in the image of the soul and God)
↓
the portrait (made in the image of body, soul, and God)

Each link of the chain resembles the next; all subsequent links resemble all prior ones. Resemblance gestures to shared identity. A portrait, then, is not simply a *representation* of identity; it is *part of* the chain of images that constitutes identity.

In aristocratic ideology, progeny and portraits forge parallel chains of imaged identities; sons are made in the images of their fathers as portraits are made in the images of their sitters. Like the *imago dei*, aristocratic ideologies of familial imaging find support from Christian theology: "The Son is called the absolutely perfect Image of the Father, because he is *like* him in power, wisdom, goodness, and other perfections; since, by a son, we understand one of the same nature as the father" (John Pye Smith, 1829, 3.323n, emphasis added). Being "of the same nature as the father" entitles earthly sons to inherit paternal power, possessions, and positions.

Ancestral portrait galleries image such genealogies, tying divinely created identities to humanly procreated identities and inherent identities to inherited ones. Portraiture "articulate[s] the patriarchal principle of genealogy upon which aristocratic ideology [is] built. The authorizing relationship between the living model and its imaged likeness [is] analogous to that between father and son."

Through imaging, "the subject [is] situated within chains or hierarchies of resemblance leading to the origin of Nature herself: God" (Woodall 3).

Connections between progeny and portraits are reinforced by shared imaging and rhetoric. Physical resemblance renders a child a *portrait* or *picture* of the parent.[1] In *The Recess* (1783–5), twin daughters standing beneath portraits of their parents are also "portraits": "two dead portraits of my unhappy friend and the Queen of Scots and two breathing ones more lovely than even themselves" (Lee 1.91). Such rhetoric is nothing new (the *OED* locates its first usage in 1614); between 1764 and 1835, it becomes conventional and pervasive.

Resemblances between persons and portraits are seen as evidence of their inherent relationships, enabling exchanges of identity and authority. In 787, the Second General Council of Nice had decreed that "the honor paid to images passes to the archetypes or things represented, and he who reveres the image reveres the person it represents" (Joseph Reeve 1820, 1.34). Even when the Council of Trent subsequently modified the claim, the authority of representation remained:

> Images are not to be venerated for any virtue or divinity which is believed to be in them or for any trust or confidence that is to be put in them, as the Gentiles did of old, who placed their hope and trust in their idols, but because the honor that is exhibited to them is referred to the prototypes or persons represented by them. (Mannock 1815, 135–6)

Such continuities allow portraits to stand in for persons. Susan Walker documents Roman uses of "portraits to act the part of the dead or, in some instances, of individuals alive but personally inaccessible: statues of emperors, for example, were sometimes petitioned for justice or asylum, as if they were living beings" (1). Woodall lists the regal and aristocratic functions enabled by theories of immanence in Europe:

> [T]he circulation of portraits could mirror and expand the system of personal patronage whereby power, privilege, and wealth were distributed. Their uses included arranging dynastic marital alliances, disseminating the image of sovereign power, commemorating and characterizing different events and stages of a reign, eliciting the love and reverence due to one's lord, ancestor, or relative. (3)

The interchangeability of persons and portraits further permits each to lay claim to the other's properties: persons lay claim to fixed social positions through the stasis of portraits and to divine authority through idealist aesthetics; concomi-

tantly, Gothic fiction is rife with animated portraits, appearing as "bodies" animated by ghosts or seeming "alive" through naturalist aesthetics, as subsequent chapters detail.

Between 1764 and 1835, the middle classes manipulated exchanges of persons and portraits to undermine inherited, titled identities, as *The Victim of Magical Delusion* (subtitled *The Mystery of the Revolution of P——L, A Magico-Political Tale*, 1795) illustrates:

> [T]he new king was as firmly fixed on his throne as his picture opposite him on the wall; but no sooner had he pronounced these words, when the picture suddenly fell to the ground with a tremendous noise. . . . The throwing down of the picture by an invisible hand was to give you a hint that a higher power had decreed the dethronement of the king. (Peter Will, 2.197, 2.242)

Picture identification in the period furthermore constructs *original* as a relative and variable rather than absolute or fixed term, undermining the lineal sequences favoring aristocratic identities. Sitters for portraits are "originals" in Maria Edgeworth's *Patronage* (1814), which warns: "A picture is no very dangerous rival, except in a *modern novel*. . . . But beware . . . of the original of that picture" (15.106, emphasis in original). Equally, portraits are originals in Eleanor Sleath's *The Orphan of the Rhine* (1796), where "an original portrait left at the castle" is "to be copied agreeable to her own design" (4.10). In practices of picture identification, portraits can appear before the persons they represent, as in *The Victim of Magical Delusion*: "No original can fit your copy better than the face of that man" (1.179). Moreover, all originals depend upon resemblance to copies for their definition *as* originals: "[S]he could not help thinking she beheld the original of the picture from the resemblance she fancied she traced between them" (Roche, *The Monastery of St. Columb*, 1813, 1.87).

In spite of such destabilization, since aristocratic ideology encompasses all classes, proclaiming the disentitlement of others along with its own entitlement, it is impossible for nonaristocratic identities to assert an equal or social value under its iconographies. The bourgeoisie therefore have forged their own. From the Renaissance, nonnobles had been depicted in honorific portraiture, "constituting identity as a product of divinely produced nature and human self-fashioning" (Woodall 2). Their portraits were set in contrast to the "genealogical collections of naturalistic portraits . . . amongst the titled and aspirant nobility based on ancestry rather than achievement" (Woodall 2). Nonaristocratic portraiture celebrates other means of attaining social position and political power, including

Figure 2.1. Henry, eighth Lord Arundell of Wardour, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, ca. 1764–7. Oil on canvas, 94 × 58 inches. The Dayton Art Institute, Dayton, Ohio, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Harry S. Price, Jr., 1969.52.

mercantile and industrial wealth; religious, political, military, and professional offices; and personal achievements, talents, and attributes. Nonnoble iconographies prioritize their values and identities.

Woodall documents a central contrast between aristocratic and nonaristocratic portraiture:

> [T]here was a tendency to emphasize the head and the hands of the non-aristocratic body, rather than the trunk and genital area which conventionally characterized nobility of blood. Thus sites associated with the origin and execution of thought, spirit, personality were stressed at the expense of bodily regions associated with physical prowess and the generation of a lineage. (4)

Four portraits by Joshua Reynolds illustrate how such trends manifested in the years 1764–78.[2] Reynolds's portrait of Henry, eighth Lord Arundell of Wardour (fig. 2.1),[3] foregrounds the groin, framing it with numerous layers of clothing that part to pronounce the organ of generation repeatedly. The scant clothing of the lower trunk contrasts with the voluminous robes, constructing Lord Henry as an aristocratic flasher. By contrast, his bewigged head is disproportionately small and looks off to one side, while the groin directly "faces" the viewer. Jonathan Norton Leonard explains that artists often painted faces on a smaller scale than the body to make aristocratic subjects appear taller, since height "was considered a noble attribute" (83).

Reynolds's portrait of Lady Williams-Wynn and children (fig. 2.2) positions her as though she had just birthed them, the foot of the youngest still emerging from her skirt. Their mother's face—passive, dreamy, and absent—appears flat and two-dimensional by comparison to her layered clothing and rotund props. In 1822 William Hazlitt would criticize the "same unmeaning face" of idealist portraits (446). Her aristocratic labor is done; the contrastingly alert face of the male heir looks out from the canvas, his body poised to enter the world inhabited by the viewer.

By contrast, Reynolds's portraits of novelist Oliver Goldsmith (fig. 2.3) and actress Fanny Abington (fig. 2.4) focus on their alert faces and professional hands. The lighting of Goldsmith's otherwise dark portrait accentuates his face and hand; his brow is pursed in mental labor; his right (writing) hand presses published words to his heart. Abington's portrait too foregrounds her face and hands, her body pushed back by the chair. Her face, engrossed in thought, is more luminous than her gown; theatrical hands touch performing lips to emphasize the priority of both in the construction of her bourgeois professional identity.

Figure 2.2. Charlotte (Grenville), Lady Williams-Wynn and children, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, ca. 1778. Oil on canvas, 159.4 × 215.7 cm. National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, NMWA 12964.

Figure 2.3. Oliver Goldsmith, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, ca. 1772. Oil on canvas, 29 × 24½ inches. © National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 130.

Nonaristocratic portraiture thus pits the bourgeois face against the aristocratic phallus in social formation. Increasingly, the middle classes lay claim to the face as their icon of identity. In his *Guide to Knowledge* (1832), William Pinnock addresses

> THE HUMAN FACE. A great poet [Milton] speaks of "the human face divine" and the expression is, to our taste, exceedingly graphical and happy. The face of man is of itself sufficient to announce him lord of the creation. There are a beauty and a dignity in the countenance of man, and more especially in that of virtuous man, which are given to no other created being. (1.13)

An 1831 account extends bourgeois genius and sensibility to the faces of portraits:

> [A] faithful delineation of a face . . . beautiful in form or color . . . which an amiable disposition renders more lovely, or where genius kindles the eye, and power or sensibility models the expression of the mouth—becomes in the highest degree delightful; it rivets the eye and enchains the mind to the resemblance like a spell: at least so it has appeared to us. (W., "Finish in Painting" 125)

Bourgeois faces not only manifest minds but additionally have power to "enchain the mind" of viewers "to the resemblance like a spell." Another periodical writer goes further to render the face a militant, democratizing force, noting that it is

Figure 2.4. Mrs. Abington as Miss Prue in *Love for Love* by William Congreve, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1771. Oil on canvas, 30¼ × 25¼ inches. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, New Haven, Connecticut.

> what gunpowder is to warriors; it levels all distinctions. . . . It is, in fine, one among a thousand proofs of that compensation, both physical and moral, by which a Superior Being is perpetually evincing his benignity, affording to every human a commensurate chance of happiness. ("Ugly Women," 1823, 438)

Bourgeois eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers engage portraiture to challenge aristocratic iconographies, locating the *imago dei* in the moral, intellectual face rather than in the organs of generation and in the shared tears of bourgeois sentiment rather than in shared blood. Bourgeois authors draw on the rhetoric of Romanticism to divinize and naturalize portraiture and social identity. Samuel Taylor Coleridge represents the *imago dei* as "the divine portrait itself, the distinct features of its countenance . . . its benign aspect turned towards its fellow-pilgrims" (*Aids to Reflection*, 1825, 1.126). Henry Fielding figures mind-face resemblances as nature's acts of portraiture: "[N]ature generally imprints . . . a portraiture of the mind in the countenance" (*Joseph Andrews*, 1742, 1.308).

As such passages make clear, reformations and revolutions in picture identification transpire through the changing values by which portraits are read. Readings of portraits in the period frequently engage in *iconotropy*: "The misinterpretation by one cult of the icons, etc., of another (earlier) cult, so as to bring the beliefs and myths depicted into accord with those of the later cult" (*OED*).[4] The remaining sections of this chapter address iconotropic bourgeois reworkings of aristocratic picture identification in print galleries, Lavater's physiognomical portraits, and the inheritance plots of Gothic fiction.

PRINT NATIONAL GALLERIES

> [A]s a state becomes enriched, not by the collection of ancient coins in the cabinets of the curious, but by the active circulation of its present currency, so also a pure taste is established in a nation, not by hoarding old pictures in the galleries of the great, but by the employment of its living talents and the circulation of its living arts.
>
> —Martin Shee, *Rhymes on Art* (1805, xxxiii)

Although the British National Portrait Gallery was not established until 1856, print-media portrait galleries flourished between 1764 and 1835.[5] Portraits that had been available only in private collections or occasional public exhibitions were engraved, mass-produced, and circulated, extending access to picture iden-

tification. New, more affordable technologies of printing and engraving and the rise of illustrated mass media made the portraits of others widely available to a mass readership. Edmund Lodge's *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain* went through numerous editions from 1814, becoming more affordable with each reprinting. In 1831 the *Morning Chronicle* announces: "The Gallery is now, it seems, to be brought down to the level of weaker purses and it is well devised as a noble and interesting present to the country at large" ("Lodge's British Portraits," n.p.).

As first-wave Gothic engages picture identification to historicize fiction and fictionalize history, so, too, print galleries revise history through picture identification. When in 1831 a public exhibition of the prints preceded a new edition of Lodge's *Portraits*, bourgeois critics seized the opportunity to wage iconotropic attacks upon aristocratic identities:

> A lecture on heads, at this period of our history, might be deemed rather a personal matter, not very agreeable to the owners, seeing that the series is aristocratic; and, coming down to our times, it will have some strange difficulties thrown in its way . . . we marvel not that the nobility have so patronized this congregation of them, as the memory of the glory of "their order" in th' olden time serves to shore up the fabric in its present state. ("Lodge's British Portraits")

This reviewer antiquates aristocratic glory, allowing it existence only as a memory, a remnant shabbily shoring up the fabric and fabrication of contemporary aristocratic power. However, the exhibition equally shores up the fabric of rising middle-class identities in *their* present state by opening discursive spaces in which they can attack aristocratic identities iconotropically:

> We trust that our nobles and others who have hitherto, "for good and for bad," filled the public eye, will, in anticipation of a niche in this temple, set about that moral and political reformation, which can alone make the honor desirable; for the vicious character is placed on the pedestal only to be remembered with scorn and contempt, while of the virtuous and beneficent, we may say—*Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt* [Your honor, name, and praise shall never die]. ("Lodge's British Portraits")

This critic's account of the exhibition ties individual, moral reformation to political reform on the eve of the 1832 Reform Act. Among other issues, reformers protested the fact that seats in the House of Lords were inherited. Thomas Paine insists that "the exercise of Government requires talents and abilities, and . . . talents and abilities cannot have hereditary descent" (1791, 89). In 1793 Knox de-

mands that "The house of lords must reform itself," adopt middle-class values, and support the policies that would allow middle-class encroachment upon aristocratic power: "the liberty of man, the liberty of thought and speech, and the liberty of the press" (*Personal Nobility* vi–vii). In 1831 the *Morning Chronicle* reviewer makes the moral values of the ordinary middle classes the hallmarks of social worth, capable of overriding ancestral identities with "scorn and contempt."

Lodge's exhibition appears at the end of the period addressed by this book. A comparison of two other print galleries, one published toward the start, the other toward the end of this period, frames and contextualizes evolving oppositions and alliances between aristocratic and nonaristocratic modes of picture identification. James Granger's *A Biographical History of England*, published in 1760 with numerous reeditions until 1824, is a multivolume collection of engraved portraits attached to brief biographies. As engraving expands the audience for portraits, so too biographies expand proper names into cultural narratives. Granger's preface celebrates engraving's ability to disseminate picture identification and documents its enthusiastic public reception, for "no invention has better answered the end of perpetuating the memory of illustrious men than the modern art of engraving . . . the passion for engraved portraits seems to have been almost coeval with the art itself" (xiv). For Granger, engravings are *part* of portraiture's chain of imaged identity—they image painted portraits—and therefore share in its immanence. Moreover, he locates their primary worth in the production and dissemination of *ideas*; the collection holds value

> not so much for the bare entertainment and curiosity that there is in such artful and beautiful imitations or the less solid intelligence of the different modes or habits and fashions of the times as the more important direction and settlement of the *ideas* upon the true form and features of any worthy and famous persons represented. (xv, emphasis added)

It is "resemblance" rather than aesthetics that constitutes the "essence of a portrait" for Granger: "Of many persons there are none but meanly engraved heads; but . . . the meanest . . . may preserve the *likeness, which is the essence of a portrait*, and might serve to ascertain a doubtful picture" (xxii–xxiii, emphasis added).

However, even as Granger's gallery celebrates the downward mobility of paintings to engravings, it works to constrain the downward *social* mobility of portraiture. The volumes are vested in using picture identification to indicate

> the distinction of families and men of superior merit in them by their arms and mottos or emblematical allusions to their actions, writings, &c. [and] the inscriptions

> of their titles of honor, preferments, and most signal services, or other observables, with the chronological particulars thereof: as of their birth, age, death, &c. and the short characters or encomiums of them, often subjoined in verse or prose. (xv)

Part of Granger's subtitle reads: *Consisting of Characters Disposed in Different Classes and Adapted to a Methodical Catalogue of Engraved British Heads; Intended as an Essay towards Reducing Our Biography to System and a Help to the Knowledge of Portraits*. Granger creates taxonomies to control the downward mobility of portraiture. The volumes begin with Egbert (802) and end with the reign of George I (1727). Whereas "all portraits of such persons as flourished before the end of the reign of Henry the Seventh are thrown into one article," subsequently "the personal history of the illustrious in every rank and in every profession will be referred to its proper place, and statesmen, heroes, patriots, divines, lawyers, poets, and celebrated artists will occupy their respective stations" (xvii–xviii).

Granger arranges his galleries as historical chronology and hierarchical taxonomy, both of which prioritize the titled. Each volume following the reign of Henry VII descends from class 1, the royal family, to class 12, "chiefly of the lowest Order of the People" (1769 edition, xvi–xvii). Hierarchies run both vertically and horizontally, between and within classes. Class 4, for example, descends from "archbishops and bishops, dignitaries of the church" to "inferior clergymen," before "subjoin[ing] . . . the nonconforming divines and priests of the Church of Rome." (Theology here complicates class and professional hierarchies.) Class 6 holds "men of the robe, including chancellors, judges, and all lawyers" (xvi–xvii). While professional rankings reinforce hierarchies, they equally establish a horizontal sprawl that undermines the vertical hierarchies of classes 1 to 12.

Granger's prose biographies are ambivalent in their class politics. Although they valorize chivalric over democratic values, they diminish present-day aristocrats. Condemning James III of Scotland for "slighting the nobility and lavishing his favors upon persons of low birth and education" (2.39) and praising Henry II for his military and royal functions—for "his courage and conduct as a soldier, his wisdom as a legislator, and his impartiality as a dispenser of justice"—Granger nevertheless indicts contemporary royals, asserting that Henry II's "accomplishments of body and mind [were] far above the level of the princes of this age" (1.8). Chronology here undermines taxonomical hierarchies and antiquity with an insidious note of decay. Granger thus uses picture identification to antiquate aristocratic glory and affirm its decline. His gallery contains no recent or contemporary royals or aristocrats.

By contrast, sixty years later, William Jerdan's five-volume *National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages of the Nineteenth Century; with Memoirs* (1830–4) contains *only* the great of "the present age." Figuring chronology as progress rather than decline, this gallery abandons the historical for the recent past. Although it includes none of the merely rich merchants and industrialists who regularly commissioned portraits, it enthusiastically lauds

> others of celebrity in the many walks of life, which are happily open in a free country to enlightened rank, to political ability, to discriminating and generous wealth, to gallant enterprise, to honorable talents, and to enduring genius. For it is the grand object of the National Portrait Gallery to preserve and transmit to posterity the features and the memory of those who have earned greatness in the present age in all the paths that lead to distinction or to glory; and their mixed examples will show that their plan embraces beauty, illustrious birth, the church, the law, the army, the navy, the sciences, the fine arts, and the literary character. (1.7–8)

Even though the list includes "illustrious birth," no one appears solely on the basis of it. Whereas Granger's gallery features aristocrats and royals simply because of their titles and positions, Jerdan's celebrates only those aristocrats who conform to or assist middle-class political and social agendas. For example, he praises Henry Petty, third Marquis of Lansdowne (b. 1780), for his "parliamentary eminence," "public service," "catholic spirit," and "liberal policy" in supporting political reforms favorable to bourgeois ascendancy. His picture identification positions the marquis as public servant rather than ruler, as chivalric champion of bourgeois interests. As Jerdan commends the marquis for resisting "the temptations to indolence and vice, which necessarily accrue from distinguished rank and wealth" and embracing "their opposites—for his public spirit, the amenity of his disposition, and the purity of his life" (5.2–8), he locates class contests within a single aristocratic individual and represents them as a war between aristocratic vice and bourgeois virtue. The marquis's aristocratic traits are "temptations" to be resisted; their "opposites" are traits through which the middle classes lay claim to social value. These are figured as virtues to be embraced *against* his own class interests.

Concomitantly, Jerdan's picture identifications of nonnobles attack aristocratic lineal value: "Like most other artists of eminence, [architect] Sir John Soane has been the creator of his own fame and fortune. He inherits nothing but his name from ancestry; but that name will now be transmitted to posterity with the highest honors" (5.4). Professional achievement here *makes* future lineage

significant. Achievement equally trumps ancestry in picture identifications of the titled. Although Sir Francis Burdett's (1770–1844) "family is traced in an uninterrupted succession to the times of William the Conqueror," Jerdan insists that,

> in recording the history of such a man as Sir Francis Burdett, we should not think of alluding to the antiquity of his family, or the nobility of his ancestry for the purpose of reflecting any *éclat* upon himself; on the contrary, we should rather give their names a place in such a sketch, lest the overwhelming interest connected with the present holder of the title should entirely intercept the view to his worthy, but *less distinguished, progenitors*. (5.1, emphasis added)[6]

Reinforcing the prose description, Jerdan's engraving of Burdett (fig. 2.5) reduces the full-length portrait by Thomas Lawrence (fig. 2.6) to a bust-sized portrait that emphasizes his face, hands, and professional papers rather than his procreative body and stately surroundings. As the engraving cuts the portrait off at the top of his legs, above his organs of procreation, the cropping displaces aristocratic conventions of portraiture with nonaristocratic ones, emphasizing intellect and professional achievement over patriarchal potency and lordly trappings. By contrast, most of Granger's engravings retain the whole-length perspectives of their portraits.

Decreeing him "the friend of liberty and humanity and . . . the enemy of the existing administration," Jerdan praises Burdett for his "love of liberty and . . . horror of despotism and political corruption" and for his efforts to extend the franchise to the middle ranks. As Jerdan represents the marquis fighting privately against the temptations of aristocratic "indolence and vice," he represents Burdett warring publicly with "the despotism and political corruption" of "the existing administration," the two conjoined by a rhetoric of liberty. There is nothing subtle about Jerdan's class politics: in the midst of Burdett's tribute, he declares that "the middle classes . . . will always be the most influential portion of society" (5.2).

In spite of his valorization of middle-class identities and values, Jerdan's dedication of his gallery to George IV indicates the tremendous power of royalty and aristocracy in the early 1830s and their vital roles in legitimating and authenticating middle-class endeavors, including Jerdan's gallery. Such a dedication is possible only "by permission."

> In humbly aspiring to make the "National Portrait Gallery" as worthy as possible of its name, it may readily be conceived, that the first and most earnest wish of its proprietors and editor was to obtain for it the patronage of a National King. They

> felt that without this distinguished honor, their efforts must want the only stamp which could give them authentic value and, like unminted bullion, be unfit for the general circulation they hoped for, unless impressed with the countenance of their gracious sovereign. (1.4)

George IV's portrait forms the frontispiece to the first volume, serving as royal stamp and seal for the gallery and its middle-class iconographies, legitimating them as cultural currency. The money analogy gestures further to mercantile, industrial, and economic uses of the king's portrait to promote middle-class ascendancy, endeavors that, though receiving no honorable mention in the gallery itself, depend upon the king's picture identification on coins and bank notes.

However, interpenetrating class values run both ways. Jerdan's picture identifications make clear that, just as the middle classes are impinging on aristocratic domains, amassing wealth and earning honorary, albeit lesser titles, aristocrats are impinging on the professional domains of scholarship, literature, the arts, and national service that had been the bases of nonnoble claims to honorific status and portraiture since the Renaissance. Marilyn Morris documents that George III's court displayed both bourgeois family values and aristocratic libertinism. Knox advises a young nobleman to adopt traits valued by the bourgeoisie to *keep them down*: "Intellectual attainments and patriotic exertions will still keep the rich plebians, who are treading upon the heels of nobility, at a convenient distance" (*Personal Nobility* 115). Intermingling class ideologies thus heighten as well as diminish class rivalries.

Although the majority of print galleries are devoted to middle- and upper-class men, women and the lower classes do make appearances. Men and women coexist only in the highest and lowest classes of Granger's gallery; "Ladies and others of the Female Sex, according to their Rank"—even duchesses—are placed in class 11, situated below men "of the inferior professions" (class 10). Apart from royals, women rank above only one class, class 12, which also contains women: "persons of both sexes, chiefly of the lowest order of the people, remarkable from only one circumstance in their lives: namely, such as lived to a great age, deformed persons, convicts, &c." Women do not share their husbands' class rankings: Madam Smith, "wife of Erasmus Smith," resides in class 11; readers are instructed to "see Erasmus Smith" higher up in class 8 (5.385). If from a feminist viewpoint such ranking indicates women's low social position in 1760, from a class vantage point it constructs "women" as a social group crossing the class borders separating men. It further suggests "women" as a profession since, as in the male professional classes, the women in class 11 are ordered "according to

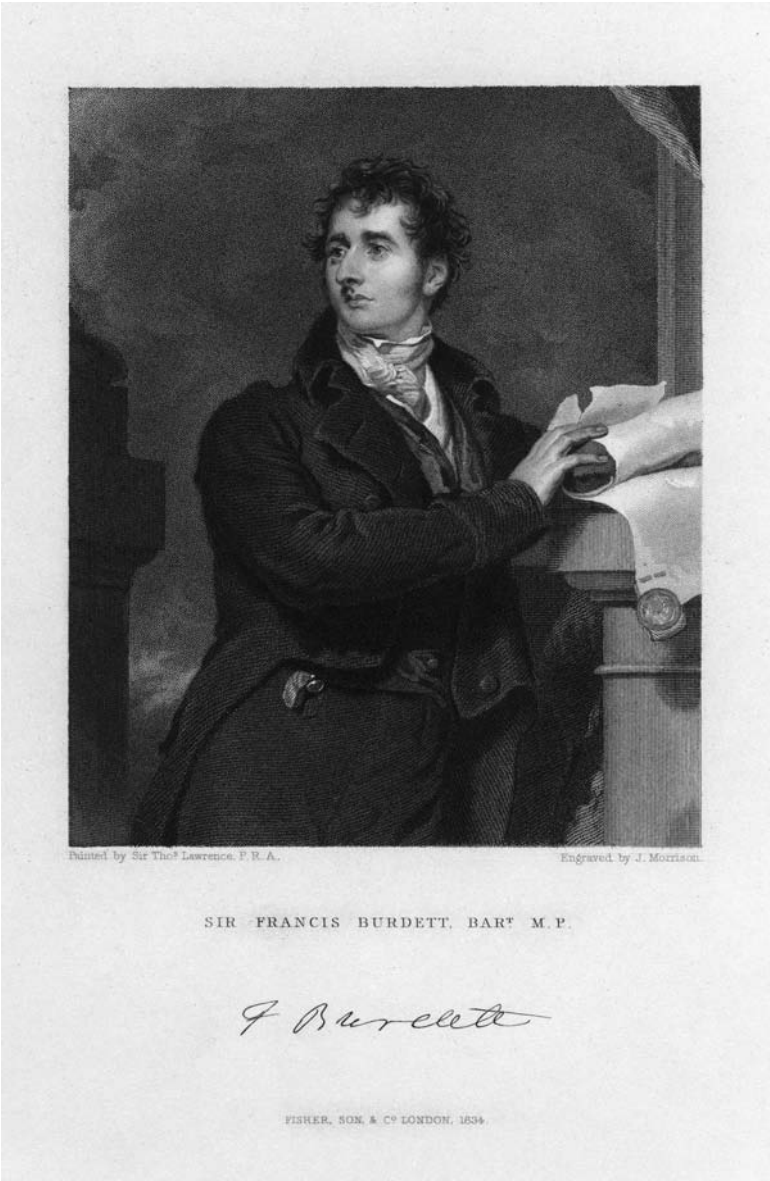

Figure 2.5. Engraving of Sir Thomas Lawrence's portrait of Sir Francis Burdett, fifth Baronet, by J. Morrison. William Jerdan, *National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Personages of the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 5. London: Fisher, Son, & Jackson, 1834. Br 195.10 (vol. 5), Widener Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Figure 2.6. Sir Francis Burdett, fifth Baronet, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, ca. 1793. Oil on canvas, 98½ × 56½ inches. © National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 3820.

their rank." However, within class 11, as in other galleries, women are ranked by their familial ties to men. The commentaries in John Burke's *The Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Females, Including Beauties of the Courts of George IV and William IV* (1833) attend solely to the women's patrilineal identities. Even where a woman manifests significant personal achievement, as novelist and translator Georgiana Harcourt does, "her" biography is devoted *entirely* to the names, dates, and feats of her male relatives. Nevertheless, the portraits of many women lay silent claim to the status of "beauties," an iconographic power that picture identification inscribes with class values, as subsequent portions of my book attest.[7]

Jerdan's predominantly male gallery includes a handful of women. Most are identified solely by their relationship to famous or titled men, but a few, including Hannah More (Evangelical philanthropist and writer) and the Porter sisters (authors of historical romances), appear by virtue of their own professional achievements. Jerdan's gallery includes no Gothic authors; indeed, he praises More's attack on Gothic novels and novels of sensibility in *Coelebs in Search of a Wife* (1809), ascertaining: "In literature, as in dress, a gone-by mode appears very ludicrous" (3.7; see my conclusion). Paradoxically, More's primary significance for Jerdan lies in her inculcating girls with a sense of "their own insignificance or nothingness." Praising her *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799), he declares: "The worst fault that can be committed is to give children an idea of their own consequence: the sooner they are taught their own insignificance or nothingness," the better (3.3). Jerdan equally commends her "plain, simple" *Tales for the Common People* (1795–8) for infantilizing the lower orders: "The ignorant are as children, and it were best for them to be treated as such" (3.3)—they too are to taught that their identities are "insignificant nothings."

Their lack of significance to Jerdan is evident in that his national gallery includes no lower-class persons. In 1794, however, James Caulfield had presented his *Portraits, Memoirs, and Characters of Remarkable Persons, from the Reign of Edward the Third to the Revolution* (1794) as updating and "completing the twelfth class of Granger's *Biographical History of England*." Persons in this lowest social class are deemed "remarkable" for commendable service to the higher orders, extraordinary individual achievement (including economic advancement), criminality, and anomalous physicality. Rovee argues that, "in bringing working-class individuals into public visibility through portraiture, these galleries posed explicit challenges to the existing order of representation" (26). Yet at the same time, Caulfield's gallery is conservative: it does not affirm social ascendancy through heroic achievement for the lower ranks. Any military heroes reside in

class 12 solely because of their birth; had they been born in the middle or upper ranks, they would have appeared in class 7. However, those "remarkable" for criminality hail from all classes and include the perpetrators of the Gunpowder Plot, a judge who signed Charles I's death warrant, and villains descended from ancient and noble families. Evidently, while crime and vice always diminish social status in a bourgeois gallery, heroism, exemplary service, and virtue do not always elevate it.

For all its anomalous figures, Caulfield's gallery is distinctly male and bourgeois in its ideology. The scandalously remarkable extend beyond rogues, criminals, and charlatans to foreigners, profligate and sexually ambiguous women, religious extremists, witches, and witch finders. The physically "remarkable" include athletes and the long-lived as well as those appearing in freak shows. Such picture identifications serve to establish British, middle-class identities as normative. The preface to the 1813 edition of Caulfield's gallery indicates how much the value of print media picture identifications has increased since 1762. Contrasting "the little estimation they were held in when first published" to their current commercial value, which has risen from "twelve pence" to "near as many guineas" (1.vii)—an inordinate rate of inflation—the preface attests to an expanding market eager to pay for and consume such ideologically coded picture identifications.

LAVATER AND PHYSIOGNOMICAL PICTURE IDENTIFICATION

Johann Caspar Lavater's works join national print galleries in reifying and mass-producing middle-class ideologies of picture identification. His *Essays on Physiognomy* (1775–8, first published in England in 1789)[8] brought about a massive European revival of classical physiognomy, purging it of astrological associations and infusing it with contemporary middle-class, western European, and Protestant values. When Lavater died, an obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* proclaimed his book "as necessary in every family as even the Bible itself" (1801, 184). Whereas some of Lavater's contemporary readers express skepticism (indeed, a great deal of Lavater's work addresses the opposition) and others declare absolute faith in physiognomy, most venture a half belief. Lavater's influence extends to fictive literature, as twentieth-century critics, including Benedict ("Physiognomy and Epistemology"), Tytler, McMaster, and Graham, document.

Lavater defines physiognomy as "the science or knowledge of the correspondence between the external and internal man, the visible superficies and the

invisible contents" (*Essays* 1.19). Physiognomy joins pathognomy (the physical expression of emotions) to locate a legible identity in the face:

> The various thoughts which arise in the mind, the different passions which agitate the soul of man, are respectively connected with his features and the external parts of his frame, and so intimate is their correspondence that the expression of the countenance, more rapid than speech, betrays his sentiments and emotions. . . . The one was designed as a mirror in which we might behold the other reflected. (*Pocket Lavater*, 1817, 17)

As the objectified structures of physiognomy join the subjective expressions of pathognomy, the face becomes a place where objective and subjective identities meet. Lavater's system, however, is more concerned with facial features than expression, as is picture identification. Today, the British Home Office requires passport photos to represent faces "with a neutral expression and your mouth closed (no grinning, frowning, or raised eyebrows)," because expression interferes with biometric technologies that read identity in facial features ("Passport Photographs"). Lavater's system applies equally to portraits and live faces: "I use the word physiognomy to signify the exterior or superficies of man in motion or at rest, whether viewed in the original or by portrait" (*Essays* 1.19). Indeed, his treatise unfolds as a series of picture identifications: verbal discourses identifying illustrations and silhouettes.

In the late eighteenth century, Lavater's system reworks aristocratic concepts of the *imago dei*, prioritizing the resemblance of one's body to one's *own* soul above its resemblance to the bodies of ancestors: because "the body is the image of the soul . . . by viewing the body we view the soul" (*Essays* 1.24). Beatrice Fraenkel reminds "that identity is at the same time that which distinguishes an individual from others and that which assimilates him to others" (197, trans. Caplan 51). Jane Caplan expands: "The term *identity* . . . incorporates the tension between 'identity' as the *self-same* . . . and 'identity' as *sameness with another*" (51, emphasis in original).

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, identity as selfsameness wrestles with identity as sameness with others. In 1810 *A General Dictionary of Commerce, Trade, and Manufacturers* defines portraiture in terms of selfsameness rather than sameness with others: portraiture "not only represents a man in general, but such a one as may be distinguished from all other men. The greatest perfection of a portrait is extreme likeness" (Mortimer, n.p.). The likeness between a man and his own portrait, the dictionary claims, is superior to the likenesses between men: "The resemblance of men to one another is indeed

frequently found in living nature, but it is seldom or never so complete and entire, but that some particular turn or view of the face will betray the difference." Likeness with oneself is simultaneously contrasted to likeness with others and defined by difference from others, for "it is the business of the artist ever to discriminate and to appropriate to his pencil those peculiar features, lines, and turns of the face, the representation of which will effectually convey to the spectator the distinct especial idea of the person whose portrait is set before him." The entry concludes by emphasizing that "there is not a single person in the world, of whatever age, sex, or condition, who has not a peculiar character both in body and face." Portraiture here constructs individualism not solely through difference from others but also through likeness to oneself.

Eventually, ideologies of imaged identity as selfsameness won out over ideologies of imaged identity as sameness with others in picture identification practices. Today, I am identified by my resemblance to my own photos on identity documents, not by my resemblance to the images of others. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, however, the issue was far from settled. Lavater was highly influential in using picture identification to promote identity as selfsameness. Placing more emphasis upon the face than the body in the construction of identity, his system follows nonaristocratic conventions of portraiture: "the human face, the mirror of the soul, the image of the deity" (Review of Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy*, 1782, 489). Prioritizing the resemblance of the face to the soul over resemblances to family faces emphasizes individual identity over family identity and makes religious or moral character the core of identity.

The face has long been deemed the most individuating part of the body: "There is something in the countenance of each man by which he, in particular, is characterized" (*Essays* 2.54). Lavater promotes a universal individualism against the monarchical one and the oligarchic few, asserting that "belief of the indispensability and individuality of all men and in our own metaphysical indispensability and individuality is . . . one of the unacknowledged, the noble fruits of physiognomy" (*Essays* 1.7). He further undermines aristocratic family prerogatives by emphasizing "the family of man" (*Essays* 1.12–3). Forging hierarchical chains of imaged identities divorced from lineage, he establishes genealogies of unrelated men linked by facial resemblances manifesting shared character and mental traits.

Summarizing the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century discourse on family resemblance for a mass audience, an encyclopedia argues in 1821 that resemblance is not limited to blood relatives but extends to unrelated associates:

> Much of the general resemblance between members of a family depend[s] upon a congeniality of sentiments and manners; each turn of thought gives a peculiar expression to the features and, as those are sufficiently strong to explain to what class they belong, to an indifferent spectator it is by no means improbable that they assist at least in designating a family. Very intimate friends are sometimes thought to resemble each other, and a real or fancied resemblance often occurs between man and wife; when it is considered that connections of the above descriptions are very often formed by persons who had never previously seen each other, it is impossible to doubt but that *the similarity of mind*, thus generated, influences the muscles and, disposing them into the same kind of expression, a muscular likeness occurs, which has no influence upon the bonds and would probably vanish were the connection dissolved and the parties examined after long separation. (Nicholson, n.p., emphasis added)

This account dislocates resemblance from shared lineage and binds it to shared acculturation, beliefs, and feelings.

Like Lavater's essays, William Godwin's *Fleetwood* (1805) argues that shared temperaments produce facial resemblances:

> What I remarked was not the thing we denominate family-likeness, the sort of cast of countenance by which descents and pedigrees, whether wise men or fools, whether knaves or honest, are, like the individuals of different nations, identified all over the world. The resemblance I perceived, though less glaring at first sight, extended its root infinitely deeper. It was that their hearts had been cast in the same mold. (2.98–9)

Lavater further assaults aristocratic modes of picture identification by constructing chains of resemblance that make faces "mean" something *other* than proper names and resemble something *other* than family faces. His system challenges traditional face-name relations, dispersing resemblances among unrelated faces, naming and classifying them with common rather than proper nouns. Although many of his subjects are named, others—for example, "the man," "the youthful maiden," and "Citizens of Zurich"—receive no proper names (*Essays* 1.239–41, 2.257–60). Privileging the common over the proper in social identification prioritizes common bonds over the titled ones. It further recategorizes society in multiple, diverse ways, defying the narrow, hierarchical chains of lineal identity. Although it seems paradoxical that Lavater simultaneously privileges individualism *and* common-noun identities, he engages both to attack the prior-

ity of inherited identities in social valuation: "Neglect no single part; but again combine the single with the general" (*Essays* 2.56).

Lavater does not deny "that features and forms are inherited," but he is more vested in asserting "that moral propensities are inherited" (*Essays* 1.197). Even then, he insists that nurture can and does override nature, valorizing the self-made man over the ancestor-made man:

> [M]any men, born handsome, degenerate . . . others, born ugly, improve by becoming virtuous . . . man is not made only to fall; he is again capable of rising to an eminence higher than that from which he fell. Take the children of the most ordinary persons; let them be the exact image of their parents; let them be removed and educated . . . their progress from deformity toward beauty will be visible. (*Essays* 1.197–200)

Lavater's readings of individual faces tie facial traits to class ideologies and stereotypes. His physiognomical picture identifications affirm bourgeois, Protestant values, particularly those deemed essential to middle-class ascendancy. While the dedication of John Barnard's *A Present for an Apprentice; or, A Sure Guide to Esteem and Wealth* (1740, with subsequent editions to 1838) links the virtues of fidelity, temperance, self-control, affability, frugality, and thrift to economic ascendancy for the lower and ordinary middle classes, and although Lavater values "contentment, industry, temperance, and cleanliness" (1.200), he values more highly the "superior virtue, sensibility, and action" attributed to the more affluent, educated middle classes to which he himself belongs (2.310) and mental traits to which he himself lays claim—that is, "a firm, manly, mature understanding, profound wisdom, and a true and unerring perception" (3.182). Although he represents with some deference the aristocratic virtues of chivalry, courage, martial prowess, mastery over the lower orders, decorum, honor, and noblesse oblige, he invariably undercuts them. A "princely countenance . . . drawn by the hand of God" manifesting "worth, nobility, and courage," a forehead "characteristic of great and bold enterprise," and lips bearing "the stamp of goodness, honesty, and courage," is marred by a "very hard" mouth and the comment, "Who also can doubt but that there is some mixture of voluptuousness?" (2.138, pl. 31; fig. 2.7).

The stereotypically hard, lascivious aristocrat stands in contrast to a "a perfect man of business . . . full of good nature . . . [d]etermined, courageous, not rash; abounding in good sense . . . sincere, worthy, bold, free, rather positive than complying; dexterous, cheerful" (3.257, pl. 38; fig. 2.8).

As with Granger's and Jerdan's print galleries, Lavater's physiognomonical gallery pays scant attention to women. His brief entry, "Women," begins with a

disclaimer: "I must premise I am but little acquainted with the female part of the human race" (3.198). Even so, he authoritatively reiterates conventional gender binarisms, contrasting seductive and chaste women, as well as women and men. Consonant with his higher valuation of mental over physical traits, "A woman with a beard is not so disgusting as a woman who acts the free thinker" (3.208). Elsewhere, Lavater recommends physiognomical attention to women's faces as

Figure 2.7. Lavater's "princely countenance." Johann Caspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, pl. 31, vol. 2, p. 138. London: C. Whittingham, 1804. KF1178 (v. 2), Widener Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Figure 2.8. Lavater's "perfect man of business." Johann Caspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, pl. 38, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 138. London: C. Whittingham, 1804. KF1178 (v. 3 pt. 1), Widener Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

the best means of fending off the sexual power of women's bodies: such attention will preserve men "from the dangerous charms of their shameless bosoms" (3.202). Although women are marginalized, stereotyped, and confined by the picture identifications of national portrait galleries and physiognomy, they are often empowered by picture identification in popular fiction.

PICTURE IDENTIFICATION AND THE INHERITANCE PLOTS OF GOTHIC FICTION

> The child of mystery, say you?—the exact resemblance of the portrait in the gallery? What is she?—who is she?—know you her name?
>
> —Louisa Sidney Stanhope, *The Bandit's Bride* (1807, 2.166)

> Such a one is a proper child! This is a precious seed! . . . the very portrait of the father! Take it into the king's household . . . compare it with the king's image . . .!
>
> —William Huntington, *Works* (1811, 9.26)

Gothic fiction works to reconcile identity as bourgeois, moral selfsameness and aristocratic, familial sameness with others in order to claim aristocratic prerogatives for bourgeois identities. Early and mid-eighteenth-century fiction explores various ways in which the lower-born can become upwardly mobile. Picaresque novels, such as *Moll Flanders* (1722) and *Tom Jones* (1749), focus on the ingenuity, improvisation, and resourcefulness of characters in improving their social status. Such theatrical models do not alter lineal identity; indeed, they vaunt individual performance over familial inheritance. Marriage, however, opens a door into the lineages of others, and many courtship plots in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fiction represent marrying up as a just reward for nonnoble virtues, such as modesty, temperance, hard work, intelligence, and honesty. If print media galleries represent class values as internal battles fought within individual men, courtship fiction locates such contests between lower-born women and higher-born men, contests resolved by marriage. Literary critics, including Ian Watt, Stone, Tadmor, Trumbach, and Davidoff and Hall, have addressed the class politics of marriages in novels such as Samuel Richardson's *The History of Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* (1740). As nonaristocratic morality lays claim to nobility in discourses like Knox's, Pamela's chastity lays claim to union with rather than exploitation by the higher-born. Such politics, addressed further in chapter 4, ties bourgeois morality to female virtue; Wai Chee Dimock suggests that "the feminization of virtue might turn out to be the most important transformation attendant upon the rise of a liberal political culture" (49; see also Grimshaw).

Marriage portraits join courtship novels to reposition women in new genealogical lines (see Retford; Shepherd 31–3; West, *Portraiture*). Fiction represents such practices. In Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), Caroline Bingley scornfully envisions the infiltration of lower-middle-class relations into Darcy's aristocratic gallery should he marry Elizabeth: "Do let the portraits of your uncle and aunt Phillips be placed in the gallery at Pemberley. Put them next to your great-uncle the judge. They are in the same profession, you know, only in different lines" (35). The juxtaposition of a judge with a lawyer would violate Granger's hierarchical class 6. But the narrator touts the benefits of interclass marriage: "It was an union that must have been to the advantage of both; by her ease and

liveliness, his mind might have been softened, his manners improved; and from his judgment, information, and knowledge of the world, she must have received benefit of greater importance" (200–1). If Pamela rather crudely and unconvincingly tames Mr. B's higher-class, male vices with her working-class, female virtues, Elizabeth more subtly modifies Darcy's class pride with an ease and liveliness elsewhere called "liberties" (251).

However, such interclass marriages are by no means democratic, nor do they raise the lower-ranked to equality with the higher. Although Pamela and Elizabeth enter the genealogies and galleries of the higher-born, they remain legally and nominally subordinate to their husbands, and the lineages and classes into which they were born are subsumed by those into which they marry. Moreover, when women relinquish individual, legal identities and personal property to husbands, they relinquish what are the bases of nonaristocratic social power. Thus, marriage is more a conquest of lower- and middle-class identities than a marker of their ascendancy.

Patriarchy makes it equally difficult for bourgeois men to rise through marriage. Even when fictive heroes, such as Austen's Frank Churchill and Willoughby, are adopted as heirs, their dependence on women restricts their liberty and they can be more readily disinherited and replaced than aristocratic heirs.

Many novels, therefore, favor inheritance over marriage as a means of social ascendancy. Although the heroine of Elizabeth Bonhote's *Olivia* (1787) has been adopted by a noble family and marries a lord, both are deemed insufficient to valorize her; she must be proved to hold lineal value as well. Olivia must relocate her aristocratic lineage, which she does through picture identification—through possession of her grandfather's miniature portrait, which identifies her as blood relation to her adoptive family and authorizes possession of her grandfather's estate: "seven thousand pounds . . . family jewels, pieces of plate, and other valuables," including "the venerable portraits of many of her ancestors" (2.61). The miniature portrait thus serves as claim check for an entire ancestral gallery and pedigree.

In 1820 William Cobbett marvels: "It is very strange that, while in every other part of the world this attachment to antiquity of birth is becoming an object of contempt and ridicule, it is cherished in England with a sort of revived infatuation" (768). In Gothic fiction, the infatuation with "antiquity of birth" rivals and often exceeds the romantic infatuation of heroes and heroines. Whereas today I am picture-identified by resemblance to my own pictures, from the founding Gothic novel, *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), into what Franz J. Potter has called "the

twilight" of first-wave Gothic fiction (1820–35), resemblance to family portraits attests to kinship and identifies apparent peasants, orphans, and bastards as heirs to aristocratic positions. Picture identification inscribes a cultural mythology in which characters aligned with middle-class values and ideologies are identified as lineal heirs to aristocratic positions, wealth, and property. These historical plots are thinly veiled prophetic parables of middle-class ascendancy. By way of introduction to the more detailed and thematic analyses of subsequent chapters, the final section of this chapter offers a brief chronological overview of picture identification's role in the inheritance plots of Gothic fiction.

Gothic plots frequently center on troubled and aberrant aristocratic family relations. Secret marriages, extramarital affairs, incest, fratricides, and rampant baby swapping leave scores of foundlings scattered across the pages of Gothic fiction. Unknown, hidden, lost, stolen, and mistaken social identities are everywhere; as often as Gothic narratives lose, obscure, falsify, and usurp social identities, they offer copious ways to recover, reveal, clarify, and restore them, including spoken and written words (narratives, testimonies, confessions, letters, wills, handwriting, signatures), bodily signs (physiognomy, birthmarks, scars, vocal characteristics), actions (air, manner, movement, deeds, modes of speaking), identificatory objects (jewelry, clothing, blankets, weapons, seals, portraits), circumstantial evidence (spatial and temporal contexts), and manifestations hovering between the psychological and supernatural (premonitions, intuitions, visions, dreams, ghosts, demons, familiars). Lady Sidney Morgan's *Florence McCarthy* (1818) illustrates the veritable pile-up of identificatory evidence:

> In confirmation of these facts, he can produce a letter. . . . Witnesses, no less efficient than this letter, are—a groom of my father's . . . my foster-father; the Reverend Denis O'Sullivan, my mother's kinsman and confessor, to whom she bequeathed the certificate of my birth and her own marriage . . . the miniatures of both my parents in their youth in his possession, to both of which I bear a strong resemblance—and the Reverend the Rector of Dunore, who remembered me in my childhood . . . I have nothing more to add. (4.267–8)[9]

Among such modes of social identification, picture identification is prominent (see fig. 2.9). "The Deserted Infant" is identified by a miniature portrait of her father; its chain is visible in the engraving. Picture identification gains epistemological authority by tying modes of resemblance to each other: the more resemblances resemble each other, the greater their authority. Because the resemblance that a child bears to a parent is perceived to resemble the resemblance that a portrait bears to its sitter, resemblance to the portraits of forebears attests

to kinship. As chapter 6 demonstrates, picture identification gains authority through realist aesthetics, because its images are deemed to resemble the images of memory. Thus portraits become collective cultural memories.

Gothic fiction mythologizes prior and contemporary practices and discourses

Figure 2.9. Engraving for "The Abandoned Infant: A Tale." *The Lady's Magazine* 25 (1794), between pages 118 and 119. KE 910, Widener Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

of picture identification and envisions its more radical future possibilities. The earliest British Gothic writers saw their genre as "an attempt to blend the two kinds of Romance, the ancient and modern," a union of "imagination" and "nature" (Walpole, *The Castle of Otranto* xiv). Clara Reeve allows for individuation within her union of "the ancient Romance and modern Novel," insisting that "it assumes a character and manner of its own," as does the child who both resembles and individuates from parents (v). As a blend of ancient and modern, Gothic fiction enables contemporary authors to travel back in time and rework the bases upon which aristocratic titles were founded and changed hands. It joins revisionist histories, like those penned by Knox, to attack aristocratic ideology at its origins:

> The founders of the most distinguished families emerged from the middle and the lower classes by the superior vigor of their natural abilities or by extraordinary efforts, assisted by fortune. . . . If indeed there is any substantial difference in the quality of their blood, the advantage is probably on the side of the inferior classes. Their indigence and their manual employments require temperance and exercise, the best purifiers of the animal juices. But the indolence which wealth excites and the pleasures which fashionable life admits, without restraint, have a natural tendency to vitiate and enfeeble the body as well as the mind. (Knox, "Illustrious Birth" 58–9)

Audaciously, Knox makes the lower and middle classes rather than God and the *imago dei* the origins of aristocratic genealogies and renders nonaristocratic indexes of value—"natural abilities" and "extraordinary efforts"—the bases of aristocratic power rather than birth or aristocratic virtues. He reduces noble blood to "animal juices" requiring purification by "temperance and exercise." In this bloodless mythological revolution, the middle classes are the true aristocrats, while actual aristocrats are "vitiated and enfeebled." Only by adopting the values and habits of the lower-born can they restore their strength.

However, as I indicated at the start of this chapter, Knox's claims to nobility for nonnobles remain adjectivally abstract. Gothic plots, by contrast, engage picture identification to establish young persons socialized in the lower and middle ranks and adhering to bourgeois values as *actual*, lineal heirs to aristocratic positions. Picture identification allows those whose identities have been lost or usurped to claim aristocratic inheritances: indeed, their loss of identity is essential to reworking the bases of social value. Lost, abandoned, stolen, exchanged, and hidden aristocratic infants anachronistically imbibe eighteenth- and nineteenth-century middle-class tenets from uneducated peasants and loyal retain-

ers, Protestant ideals from pre-Reformation nuns and monks, and Puritan work ethics from aristocrats who have descended into the middle ranks. Restored to their rightful positions, they carry these values into aristocratic families, reforming lineal identities and overthrowing aristocratic ideologies. Gothic narratives thus join revisionist histories and print galleries in figuring worthy aristocrats as always already middle class.

Picture identification's concepts of immanence are central to this process of usurpation, allowing persons to lay claim to the identities of *others* as inherent in *themselves*. Because imaged identity is never total, what remains—aristocratic aristocracy—can be marginalized and rejected as decadent, criminal, and self-destructive, subject to moral censure, legal punishment, and bodily death. When economically, politically, and socially fallen aristocrats "take refuge in obscurity" (*The Orphan of the Rhine* 213), whether to hide from villains (e.g., *Bungay Castle* and *The Orphan of the Rhine*) or to hide their identities as villains (e.g., *The Mysteries of Udolpho* and *The Italian*), picture identification reveals them and subjects them to reward or punishment.

As Jerdan's picture identifications of titled men validate them doubly through aristocratic and nonaristocratic values, Gothic picture identification renders its beneficiaries doubly entitled by aristocratic lineage and nonaristocratic merit. Unlike marriages between the higher- and lower-born, these identifications define soul and body as middle class, relegating aristocratic aspects of identity to legal and material accoutrements (titles, land, and property) and divorcing them from the *imago dei*. Gothic plots display the value of heirs *apart* from families and aristocratic status; most come into their positions only at the end after proving their worth by bourgeois standards, just as heroines in courtship novels enter advantageous marriages only after maintaining their sexual virtue. That picture-identified heroes and heroines additionally enter the "happily-ever-after" of marriage valorizes such identities further through lovers' desires, an eroticization that simultaneously obfuscates and intensifies desire for power, titles, and wealth. Indeed, in most instances, both Gothic partners hail from noble families. Their marriages lay the basis for future lineal inheritance, forging a genealogical happily-ever-after for "bourgeois" aristocrats. By contrast, "aristocratic" aristocrats succumb to death or enter monasteries, where celibacy puts an end to their lineage.

That said, Gothic fiction's founding novel, Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), works to restore broken chains of aristocratic imaged identities usurped by the middle classes. A funerary portrait of the usurped prince Alfonso, supersized and animated by his ghost, wreaks revenge on the progeny of usurp-

ers, terrorizing the current prince Manfred, killing his heir, and tearing down his castle. Concomitantly, resemblance to the usurped prince's painted portrait in the family gallery identifies an apparent peasant, Theodore, as rightful heir, while physiognomical readings tracing resemblances between that portrait and Theodore affirm the moral virtues of both. Although the novel upholds aristocratic lineal rights, in unseating a prince and identifying a peasant as rightful prince, the novel establishes picture identification as a paradigm through which those ranked lower in society can displace those holding aristocratic seats.

Most subsequent Gothic fiction makes aristocrats, not middle-ranked stewards, usurpers and murderers of their own relations. In so doing, it forges a critique of aristocratic family values as well as of individual aristocratic morality. Louisa Sidney Stanhope's *The Confessional of Valombre* (1812) illustrates. Like *Otranto*'s Theodore, *Valombre*'s Theodore is the lost heir to an apparently extinct aristocratic line. However, his line has been usurped by an uncle rather than a steward: "the murderer your uncle—the usurper of your rights—the destroyer of your parents" (4.28–9). The usurper expresses aristocratic identity as antisocial egotism: "[H]e owns no law but inclination—he admits no power but will." Rather than exalting him, his aristocratic ego causes him to become "[l]eagued with a ruffian band" (3.152). Like the French Revolution and Caulfield's print gallery, Gothic fiction identifies aristocrats with lower-class criminals.

By contrast, the usurped and murdered brother was just the type of aristocrat that Jerdan celebrates in his gallery: "not idly lavishing inheritance and fame in joyless dissipation, but laboring in the cabinet of state to erect the bulwark of his country's triumph; laboring to discharge the trust integrity imposed; laboring to add individual honor to the long list of his forefathers' virtues" (*Valombre* 2.54). The passage sets labor against "inheritance and fame" and adds "individual honor" to "forefathers' virtues." Here and elsewhere, Gothic fiction casts aristocrats identified by and with middle-class values as legitimate lineal heirs and aristocrats identified by and with middle-class stereotypes of aristocratic indolence, vice, hardness, and voluptuousness as their usurpers. Aristocratic family values bring out the worst in aristocratic individuals, as sprawling webs of relatives compete to occupy the narrow genealogical lines of descent forged by primogeniture and as a system that makes death the basis of inheritance produces rampant patricide, fratricide, and other familial murders.

Thus, even though Clara Reeve figures *The Old English Baron* (1777) in lineal terms as "the literary offspring of *The Castle of Otranto*" (v) and adopts its predecessor's subtitle, *A Gothic Story*, like a shared surname, her novel makes an aristocrat the murderous usurper. As it does for Walpole's Theodore, resemblance to

a murdered forebear's portrait identifies a poor cottager as "the true heir of the house of Lovel":

> "These," said he, "are the portraits of my lord and lady. Father, look at this face; do you know who is like it?"
>
> "I should think," said Oswald, "it was done for Edmund!"
>
> "I am," said Edmund, "struck with the resemblance myself . . . I feel myself inspired with unusual courage." (206)

Picture identification's epistemological authority here comes from communal testimony rather than ghostly proclamations and from empirical evidence rather than miracles. The heroes' name etymologies emblematize the spiritual to secular shift: Theodore means "God's gift"; Edmund means "wealthy protector."

Half a dozen years later, Sophia Lee's *The Recess* (1783–5) grants picture identification epistemological autonomy. Whereas *Otranto* gradually pieces together fragments of a supersized portrait, and while *The Old English Baron* requires additional proofs to authenticate Edmund's picture identification, *The Recess* grants picture identification early, instant, and total authority. As fictional twin daughters of Mary, Queen of Scots, stand unwittingly beneath portraits of their parents, a witness declares: "I saw in *one moment* the *whole* of a secret persevered with caution for so many years" (1.91, emphasis added). The novel shores up the authority of picture identification with multiple resemblances: the portraits resemble the parents; the man's perception of the portraits resembles his memory of the parents; the daughters resemble the portraits and his memory of their parents; the twin daughters resemble each other.[10] Subsequently, the man who makes the picture identification authorizes his picture identification by producing a portrait that identifies his knowledge of the parents.

The Recess makes three innovations: it is the first Gothic novel to picture-identify women, the first to foreground matriarchal picture identification, and the first to use miniature portraits to identify characters. From the 1780s, Gothic fiction is heavily vested in the picture identification of women. Although there is an economic explanation for this—Robert D. Mayo has established that readers of popular Gothic fiction between 1770 and 1820 were largely female—as Ian Watt, Ann Mellor, Nancy Armstrong, and others have argued, such fiction forges alliances between gendered and classed identities. Chapter 4 examines how these alliances are reinforced and complicated by conflicts between patriarchal and matriarchal picture identification; it also probes how fiction aligns miniature portraits with bourgeois identities and sets them against full-length aristocratic portraits.

As we have seen, portraits are downwardly mobile not only in terms of whom they represent between 1764 and 1835 but also in terms of who has access to them. Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) studies the downward mobility of reading portraits for women and the underclasses. Even as it indicates Lavater's conservative influence upon gendered picture identifications, it demonstrates the empowerment that *reading* pictures brings to imprisoned and restricted women through knowledge (see chapter 6).

By contrast, Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* (1796) foregrounds picture identification's disempowerment of women when their images arouse male desire and that male desire leads to their rape and murder. These are not simply libidinal chains of image, desire, and action, as I argue in chapter 9; they involve complex reworkings of the *imago dei* and confusions of images and originals that rupture traditional imaged identities. Building on *Otranto*'s violent destruction of a body by a portrait, *The Monk* inaugurates a retaliatory violence, in which a body destroys a portrait. Surprisingly, few other Gothic texts follow suit. As chapter 5 demonstrates, in the wake of the French Revolution and Reign of Terror, when aristocratic bodies and portraits were destroyed in grotesque parodic tandem, Gothic fiction contains remarkably few acts of iconoclasm. For example, Charlotte Turner Smith, an avid supporter of the French Revolution, whose pro-Revolutionary *Desmond* (1792) caused a scandal, restrains iconoclasm in *The Old Manor House* (1793), written after the Reign of Terror.

Two years after *The Monk*, Eleanor Sleath's *The Orphan of the Rhine* (1798) offers an alternative to violent revolution and iconoclasm. Opening on a first-generation heroine who has accepted her decline from "an ancient and illustrious family" (31) into "the middle rank of life" with meekness, piety, and patience (1), it models for contemporary aristocrats how to accept their decline in the wake of middle-class economic ascendancy. The decaying aristocratic portraits in this novel manifest a passive-aggressive iconoclasm, in which aristocratic identities decay at the hands of time and progress rather than as a result of direct, violent action. Yet because the middle orders are the agents of "progress," such "passive" iconoclasm remains deftly classed. Aristocratic decadence joins middle-class progress as an agent of decline when a decadent, titled lover inaugurates the first-generation heroine's downward mobility.

In spite of its passive iconoclasm, picture identification in this novel works a revolution, raising the low and dispossessing the high. Resemblance to a mother's portrait identifies the second-generation heroine as a usurped aristocrat; her picture identification functions further to terrify the usurper and murderer of her parents. Although in many Gothic tales, heroes and heroines are picture-identi-

fied by others in order to counterpoint the militancy of their claims to power with their passivity and lack of awareness, in this novel the heroine identifies herself as noble.[11]

By the mid-1790s, picture identification plots have become conventional, as has Gothic fiction. In her preface to *The Banished Man* (1794), Charlotte Turner Smith complains that "my ingenious contemporaries have fully possessed themselves of every bastion and buttress . . . together with all their furniture of ivy mantles and mossy battlements, tapestry, and old pictures" (1.iv). There are no picture identifications in this novel. Those that reinscribe them manifest their conventionality in various ways. In John Palmer Jr.'s *The Mystery of the Black Tower* (1796), a noble mother who has just witnessed her husband murdered and believes her own and her children's murder to be imminent, is sufficiently prepossessed to produce a portable picture identification for her son: "[H]aving fastened a portrait of thy murdered sire about thy neck, [I] dropped thee from the window, having first scratched upon the back of the picture [an] inscription" (147). Conventionally, the baby is found and raised by a peasant. Carrying his portable picture identification with him at all times, he is restored to his aristocratic position when his mother, spared from murder, recognizes both: "Yes, my Reginald . . . no longer Leonard, the fruit of a peasant's loins; know thou art the offspring of Arthur Fitzallan and rightful heir to all his wide domain, usurped by the villain whom heaven, to do a double justice, doomed to fall by thy all-conquering arm!" (142). The former Leonard is nonchalant: "[T]he titles and estates he so unexpectedly possessed, he considered not" (143). The conventionality and nonchalance suggest growing middle-class confidence in the inevitability of their ascendancy.

Mary Meeke's *Langhton Priory* (1809) carries conventionality into banality:

> Breakfast being, however, over, Lord Endermay, according to promise, led his guest into the picture-gallery and pointed out a fine whole-length portrait of his father, which had been done when he married by Sir Joshua Reynolds, adding, "my mother hangs on the other side of my grandfather: but can you trace any resemblance of my brother in the countenance of Lord William Albany?"
>
> "I positively cannot, my Lord Marquis: he is certainly more like his great-uncle than his father. . . . Your Lordship is certainly more like your mother; still you have your father's features and seem the very counterpart of him in point of figure; and your sister has his mouth and, at times, the expression of her countenance greatly resembles this picture." (260–1)

Other novels resist conventionality with histrionics:

"[A]t Lunenberg Castle I beheld the exact, the living resemblance of my sister's portrait."

"Is that all?" interrupted the baron, with an ironical smile.

"No," answered Sigismar, "that is not all: this angelic being is the child of mystery and, when the name of De Lindenthal first reached her ear, breathing an exclamation of horror, she fainted."

"Ah!" ejaculated the baron, as an ashy paleness o'erspread his features.

"The child of mystery, say you?—the exact resemblance of the portrait in the gallery? What is she?—who is she?—know you her name? Where can I find her?—has she a mother?"

"She has," replied the count.

"Prophetic Heaven!" again interrupted the baron, with a start of terror. (Stanhope, *The Bandit's Bride*, 1807, 2.166)

It seems strange that picture identification should produce both horror and terror; yet Gothic picture identifications regularly instill both, as chapters 4 and 9 attest.

By 1813, Gothic picture identification, already self-parodying in its conventionality and histrionics, is ripe for deliberate parody. The protagonist of Eaton Stannard Barrett's *The Heroine* unwittingly claims to be the daughter of a courtesan: "[W]hat confirms me in this supposition of my relationship to Lady Gwyn is an old portrait which I found [in her father's drawer], representing a young and beautiful female dressed in a superb style and, underneath it, in large letters, the name of 'Nell Gwyn'" (1.28). This mass-produced portrait indicates the mass-produced conventionality of Gothic picture identification. Subsequently and erroneously informed that her mother is not dead but imprisoned, she is admonished: "You will know her by her striking likeness to her picture in the gallery" (2.155). The obese woman who picture-identifies the heroine as her daughter ("Come to my maternal arms, thou living picture of the departed Theodore!" [2.160]) is nothing like the slender woman of the portrait. Even so, the parody does nothing to challenge the authority of picture identification, for the heroine is unrelated to Lady Gwyn, Nell Gwyn, and the obese imposter. Her lack of resemblance to all three simply affirms this.

Jane Austen's Gothic parody, *Northanger Abbey* (1817),[12] challenges resemblances to family portraits more subtly and substantially:

Catherine had depended upon meeting with features, air, complexion that should be the very counterpart, the very image, if not of Henry's, of Eleanor's—the only portraits of which she had been in the habit of thinking bearing always an equal

> resemblance of mother and child. A face once taken was taken for generations. But here she was obliged to look and consider and study for a likeness. (158)

Austen's parody, however, modifies and rationalizes rather than overthrows the authority of picture identification. (Chapter 6 shows that elsewhere Austen grants picture identification supreme epistemological authority.) Similarly, although a character in Samuel Egerton Brydges's *The Hall of Hellingsley* (1821) asks, "Why should there be no accidental likenesses in the human face?" (3.221), the novel's plot dismisses the blasphemous possibility.

As conventional Gothic works continue to picture-identify humble heroes and heroines as aristocrats, they become more didactic in their class critiques. In Elizabeth Isabella Spence's *Old Stories* (1822), the hero's resemblance to an aristocratic portrait, "which could scarcely be accidental," assures observers "that he possesses by right a higher rank in society than was consistent with his present lowly station." The resemblance challenges the social and material disparities between portrait and person—"Wherefore the portrait maintained so conspicuous a place in the gallery, whilst Owen was so degraded and depressed, appeared incomprehensible" (1.165)—and demands equal status for person and portrait.

By contrast, some Gothic fiction of the late 1810s and 1820s manifests phobias of middle-class iconographies and iconologies of picture identification. Although similar phobias emerge earlier in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, its narrator buries them in happy endings and rational explanations. However, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818), Charles Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820), and James Hogg's *Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824) let such phobias run their tragic, destructive course. Because chapter 10 addresses these dynamics in detail, here I turn to less canonical Gothic texts to indicate the exhaustion of the trope at the more fundamental levels of plot and character.

In Ann of Kent's *Castle of Villeroy* (1827), the character most obsessed with portraits is an "exhausted maniac" (314) who fixates on a portrait, refusing to recognize the living man it represents because, with passing years, he no longer resembles it. Personifying the portrait, rejecting the man, seeking a lost resemblance, her refusal to accept change (even the happy change that has restored her friend to her) locks her in an obsession with the past, the dead, and the inanimate. She similarly refuses to recognize the long-lost daughter who resembles her: "My child was a baby, and not you" (329). When fire breaks out, oblivious to her own and her daughter's danger, she "rushe[s] past the flame, and place[s] herself before the portrait . . . 'I will not stir,' " fully prepared to immolate herself on its altar (329). Rescued from the fire by her daughter, the portrait burns: "[N]ot

one vestige is left of either canvas or frame" (332). The loss precipitates her death. Only on her deathbed does she recognize the man as friend and the woman as daughter. This novel likewise represents Gothic picture identification burned out and on its deathbed.

William Harrison Ainsworth's *Rookwood* (1834), deemed by some to be the last canonical first-wave Gothic novel, conversely undermines Gothic conventions of picture identification by representing resemblance to family portraits as a process of fatalistic repetition rather than progress. When picture identification legitimates and entitles a young man, hitherto considered illegitimate, he lacks the usual heroic bourgeois morality of such characters, instead resembling and replicating the corruption of his aristocratic ancestors: "Even in her terror, as she dwelt upon his pallid features, Eleanor could not help admitting that she beheld the undoubted descendant and the living likeness of the handsomest and most distinguished of her house—the profligate and criminal Sir Reginald" (2.191). Picture identification in this novel indicates neither progress nor change:

> As her eye, mechanically following this train of thought, wandered for an instant to the haughty portraiture of Sir Reginald, which formed part of the family pictures and thence to those of his unfortunate Lady, she was struck by the fancy that, by some terrible fatality, the tragic horrors of bye-gone days were to be again enacted in their persons and that they were in some way strangely identified with their unfortunate progenitors. (2.191–2)

The resemblances of picture identification have become mechanistic; the past proves fatalistically prophetic, overwhelming present and future; picture-identified persons live tragically ever after.

In 1835 Rosalia St. Clair's *Marston* represents both the exhaustion of the trope and the constraints of picture identification upon the living. Public interest in aristocratic portraits is declining:

> [W]hen my poor mistress lived and the house was always full of company, many hundreds used to come and see it and its fine gallery of family pictures; but now it's quite different; it's just for all the world like a place deserted . . . it almost frightens one to cross the great galleries and staircases at nightfall: the echo of one's feet sounds so hollow and as though one walked over tombs. (1.180–1)

The mystique of ancient portraits pales before contemporary aesthetics: "He would make his auditors pause with reverence before the portrait of the first founder of the abbey, a descendant of a Norman baron, who came over to England with William the Conqueror, although nothing was to be remarked beyond

a very black, indistinct painting of an old man with a long beard" (1.197). Age has rendered the man unremarkable and the painting "indistinct"; his noble name dissipates into a common noun; his achievement in founding the abbey is reduced by the bathos of the image, in which his sole mark of achievement is having grown a beard.

By contrast to old portraits, the novel expresses unbridled enthusiasm for tableaux vivants, in which live persons imitate paintings instead of paintings representing persons: "[T]he whole extent of one side of an immense room displayed large picture frames containing the most perfect imitations of pictures of the first masters . . . all were motionless, breathless, as though they had really been the limner's creation" (3.249, 3.252). If in the first volume of the novel, painting fails to distinctly or compellingly represent persons, in the third, persons exactly and astonishingly represent paintings. They are "in their imitation more perfect than the originals, inasmuch as no defect of coloring, proportion, or shade was possible, where the groups were formed of living, although motionless, persons" (3.249). In contrast to the neglected aristocratic portraits, "a hum of applause, increasing by degrees, became at length a general exclamation" (3.250).

As life imitates art, traditional chains of imaging are reversed:

> In one of the corner frames was the "Madonna della Sedia" of Raphael. The lady (Comtesse Julie Zichi) chosen for this picture was gifted by nature with the most lovely countenance and so entirely resembling the Madonna of the great artist that, had not Raphael lived some hundred years ago, one might have been led to suppose she had sat for his model. (3.250–1)

Tableaux vivants pass the power of representation from the past and the inanimate to the present and living. As inanimate representations of dead persons, ancestral portraits are doubly dead. Like Jerdan's gallery, Gothic fiction is concerned with the picture identification of the living, an identification set against the dead and the past. Gothic picture identification establishes lineal identities and authorizes aristocratic inheritances by matching live, presented faces to portraits of dead relations. Such picture identifications mark the passing of lineal titles in such rhetoric as "The king is dead; long live the king!" Even so, as in tableaux vivants, the living are constrained by picture identification, conforming live bodies to its templates, creating persons in the image of portraits, as subsequent chapters of my book attest.

Inheritance plots are not limited to Gothic fiction, as the Douglas Cause (1761–9), a tale of contested inheritance, in which "the romantic story of the heir was as striking and as marvelous as any the page of fiction narrates" (1.338), attests.

When the only sister of the childless Duke of Douglas claimed to have given birth to twins in France at the age of fifty-one, her evidence, dubious and hotly contested, was found wanting in the Court of Sessions, but subsequently convincing upon appeal to the House of Lords. At the climax of his appeal, Douglas's lawyer declared that "the elder child, the appellant, was the exact picture of his father" and that "the other [was] the exact picture in miniature of Lady Jane."

> I have always considered likeness as an argument of a child's being the son of a parent . . . the distinction between individuals in the human species is more discernible than in other animals. A man may survey ten thousand people before he sees two faces perfectly alike and, in an army of a hundred thousand men, every one may be known from another. ("Proceedings in the Lords on the Douglas Appeals Cause," 1769, 531)

Amid conflicting verbal testimony, the lawyer's invocation of family resemblance expressed in a rhetoric of picture identification may have swayed the appeal. John Bernard Burke records that "in the whole range of judicial investigation, no cause ever excited more intense public interest"; "throughout Europe, the question was discussed," dividing even Johnson and Boswell (1.338). Although in 1849 Burke finds such national interest inexplicable (1.340), in the 1760s it was perfectly in keeping with Gothic fiction's avid interest in the picture identification of lost or dubious aristocratic heirs and mythologies supporting the rise of bourgeois subjects into aristocratic positions.

This brief overview at the levels of plot and character provides a chronological context for more detailed and substantial thematic readings of picture identification in Gothic fiction in subsequent chapters. However, before we turn to these issues, we must consider the obverse of the politics of portraiture—the portraiture of politics.

CHAPTER THREE

"The Age of Portraiture" and the Portraiture of Politics

> [T]here is [in British painting] something to affect more general interests—to excite the reflections of the politician, as well as the feelings of the man of taste, and to implicate seriously the reputation of the country.
>
> —Martin Archer Shee, *Rhymes on Art* (1805, x)

THE AGE OF PORTRAITURE

Art historians are unanimous in designating the eighteenth century "the age of portraiture" in Britain, a period when internationally celebrated painters, most notably Thomas Gainsborough, Joshua Reynolds, and Thomas Lawrence, established the first distinctive national art since medieval Gothic times. A letter to the *Spectator* in 1712 posits that "Italy may have the preference of all other nations for history-painting; Holland for drolls and a near finished manner of working; France for gay, jaunty, fluttering pictures; and England for portraits." The Royal Academy, founded in 1768, provided a national center for viewing and discussing paintings; portraits far outnumbered other genres in public art exhibitions. The *Spectator* letter too attests to the popularity of portraiture in Britain: "No nation in the world delights so much in having their own, or friends', or relations' pictures" (Weather-Glass 1810, 157).

Figure 3.1. Révolutions de France et de Brabant, frontispiece to issue 74, 1791. DC140.R45, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

The eighteenth century is additionally "the age of portraiture" because more people are picture-identified[1] in it by portraits than ever before. Before the age of portraiture, chiefly the ends of the social spectrum were picture-identified: sovereigns appeared as named faces on coins, promissory notes, and stamps; the titled, famous, and wealthy were represented by named portraits of all kinds; at

the other end of the social spectrum, vagrants, criminals, and missing persons appeared as named, represented faces on wanted posters and in the ekphrastic descriptions of magistrate records (see Groebner).[2] Picture identification, then, functioned to mark the remarkable and those whom society wished to control.

The French Revolution and Reign of Terror changed picture identification, inverting its markings at the ends of the social spectrum and inaugurating the marking of the unremarkable who lay between.[3] Chapter 5 details how, during the Reign of Terror, picture identification reidentified royals and aristocrats as criminals and commoners as rulers and national heroes. The process, intriguingly, began with King Louis XVI himself. Seeking to escape captivity in Paris in June 1791, he exchanged his noble ranking with that of a servant, disguising himself as a valet and his governess as a German aristocrat. They were only a few miles from the German border when Louis was picture-identified by a postmaster: "I was struck by the resemblance of his face to the likeness of the king printed on an *assignat* which I had with me at the time" (qtd. in Pernoud and Flassier 87). Before the Revolution, the king's image had been celebrated and circulated on the nation's money; here it functioned as a wanted poster. The king was returned to imprisonment in Paris and subsequently executed.

More significant in this study of picture identification's mass rise is the requirement after the king's near escape that written physical descriptions (*signalements*) became mandatory on all French passports. British citizen John Carr, traveling in France in 1792, defines the *signalement* as "a regular descriptive portrait of the head of the person who has thus the honor of sitting to the municipal portrait painters" (27). Because passports were required for travel *within* France, persons of all classes were picture-identified. According to Carr, France's municipal records "contain a greater number of heads and faces, thus depicted, than any museum or gallery I ever beheld" (27). The age of mass picture identification had begun.

Although who had access to picture identification and who had access to picture-identify others had been descending the social ladder in Europe since the Renaissance, the period 1764–1835 witnessed an exponentially accelerated downward mobility of picture identification that coincided with the rapid upward mobility of the ordinary middle classes in Britain. In 1796 the Earl of Fife remarked that, "before this century, very few people presented themselves to a painter, except those who were of great families or remarkable for their actions in the service of their country. . . . [Now] every body almost who can afford twenty pounds has portraits of himself, wife, and children painted" (qtd. in Pointon, *Hanging the Head* 2).

Prices would fall further. Joining the downward mobility of who was represented by picture identification, portrait forms and prices also became downwardly mobile. Silhouettes, sketches, engravings, prints, and commodities (wax, paste, ceramics, enamel, textiles, and needlework) joined the revival of classical forms, such as portrait medallions, and the intensified colonization of ivory, a favorite material for miniatures, to render picture identification more affordable, more available, and more widely circulated (Pointon, *Hanging the Head* 2–3, 84). The downward mobility of education and leisure further produced a battery of amateur portraitists who sketched, painted, sculpted, and embroidered portraits of family and friends gratis. Prices continued to drop until photography made picture identification affordable for nearly everyone by the early 1860s, when, as Henry Mayhew documents, "for sixpence persons can have their portraits taken, and framed and glazed as well" and, for a penny, they can have their profiles cut (1861, 204, 210).[4]

Accompanying the tandem downward mobility of portraiture, sitters, forms, and prices, changes in portraiture's iconographies, iconologies, and aesthetics, as we have seen, refigured the bases upon which British identities were valued, redistributing social and political power. Those changes were invoked in debates over political representation.

THE PORTRAITURE OF POLITICS

The politics of portraiture have been widely discussed; the portraiture of politics less so. I do not engage the latter term in its usual sense of portraits, engravings, busts, caricatures, and verbal sketches of politicians, political events, and debates; these have been addressed ably and extensively by other scholars (see, e.g., Searle, Roy, and Bornemann; Brewer; T. Hunt). Rather, I use the term to indicate how theories, aesthetics, and practices of portraiture were engaged in debates over political representation. While Christopher Rovee perceives a "discontinuity between the expanded bourgeois influence on display [in public art exhibitions] and the actual political situation in the Commons" before 1832, arguing that the gallery "is purely symbolic, entailing no reciprocal effect in the political domain" (4–5), my research indicates that, from the 1770s on, the downward mobility of portraiture opened a conceptual space and provided a rhetoric in which to envision and advocate for a similar downward mobility of political representation, with significant effects in the political domain.

Portraiture's paradoxical high social importance and low aesthetic value made it an especially apt form through which to urge the importance of wider political

representation for those holding low social value. Even as art historians declare portraiture the most important genre of painting in eighteenth-century Britain, they document its low rank in hierarchies of genre. So too do nineteenth-century art critics: "However inferior a branch of Fine Art portrait-painting may be deemed, it is at least a prominent and important one" (W., "Finish in Painting," 1831, 120).

Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) and Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* (1791–2) draw on the rhetoric, aesthetics, theories, and iconographies of portraiture to construct a portraiture of politics. Burke's *Reflections* defends the political status quo in England ("We are resolved to keep an established church, an established monarchy, an established aristocracy, and an established democracy, each in the degree it exists and in no greater" [352]) by invoking portraiture literally, metaphorically, and ideologically. Valuing actual aristocratic "paintings and statues that, by imitating nature, seem to extend the limits of creation" (445), he calls on ancestral portrait galleries to support his claim that English liberty is inherited "without any reference whatever to any other more general or prior right" (276).

More central to issues of representation is the fact that Burke's ideology regarding who should govern England conforms precisely to idealist concepts of who was deemed worthy to be represented in Renaissance portraiture: "[O]ur liberty . . . has a pedigree and illustrating ancestors. . . . It has its gallery of portraits" (276). Just as Lomazzo's 1584 treatise on portraiture instructs that "only worthy, virtuous, or high-born individuals should be the subjects of portraits" (West, *Portraiture* 24–5), Burke's treatise on politics allows only nobles and honorific nonnobles to be the subjects of political representation: "You do not imagine that I wish to confine power, authority, and distinction to blood and names and titles. . . . Nothing is a due and adequate representation of a state that does not represent its ability, as well as its property" (297–8).

Burke, however, excoriates the extension of government to the middling classes and ordinary professionals, expressing disapproval that the French National Assembly is composed

> not of distinguished magistrates . . . not of leading advocates . . . not of renowned professors in universities . . . but for the far greater part, as it must in such a number, of the inferior, unlearned, mechanical, merely instrumental members of the profession . . . obscure provincial advocates . . . stewards of petty local jurisdictions, country attorneys, notaries, and the whole train of the ministers of municipal litigation. (286)

These are too far down in Granger's class 6 to be deemed worthy of being political representatives. Burke's contempt for the downward mobility of political representation in France was echoed by art critics decrying the downward mobility of portraiture in Britain, including an anonymous critic in 1816:

> Multitudes of men, women, and children are seen emblazoned in gilded frames, seeking through the prostitution of the pencil a momentary notoriety to which they are not entitled either by birth or attainments. No one can question the propriety of exhibiting the beloved lineaments of our future queen or the semblance of that warrior, who, amid the combination of princes, has placed England so high in precedence; but why should the shopkeeper seek to display in an exhibition of art a representation of the upper half of his own body, the exact portion which may be daily seen surmounting his counter or his desk? . . . it is unseemly and presumptuous to attach public attention to the portraiture of those who are uninteresting or unknown. ("Review and Register of the Fine Arts" 447–8)

In 1825 Samuel Taylor Coleridge is unconcerned with "birth" but insists upon honorific achievements and superior intellect as bases for representation:

> When we lay down the volume of a glorious poet, or study the works of a great artist, or read the sayings and doings of heroes, sages, navigators, statesmen, and all who by deed or word have raised themselves above the mediocrity of humanity . . . we wish to look upon the grand and expansive foreheads—the deep mysterious eyes—the expressive mouths—in fine, we want reverentially to gaze upon the exteriors of intellect. This is laudable. . . . But to have copies of all the ordinary skulls, noses, eyes, and mouths of all the Simpkinses, and Jenkinses of this "work-day world" unceremoniously obtruded upon your notice under the everlasting title of "Portrait of a Gentleman" is a very different matter. . . . It is not well done; it is exceeding his natural privileges . . . it is indecorous; it is indelicate. (*Aids to Reflection* 266)

Such protests are not merely expressions of class snobbery; they are more substantially products of idealist aesthetics. As a principle of portraiture or politics, idealism is predicated on elitism of and exclusion from representation. Only the elite are to be represented—and they are to be represented ideally to justify their exclusive representation. Such circular logic and referentiality are central to idealist representation. Idealist portraiture, for example, shares with the titled and honorific whom it chiefly represents a rhetoric shored up by theories of inherence between persons and their portraits, as well as between artists and paintings. In 1810 art critic John Gould praises "the noble conceptions of Raphael" and ranks Rubens the "first among painters eminent for pomp and majesty," finding

his compositions "possessed of grandeur," conveying "a certain nobleness in the figures" (1.xlvii, xlv). Idealist portraiture, however, may not so much convey as bestow nobility upon its subjects.

The circularity of idealist aesthetics extends from exchanges among subjects, painters, and critics to exchanges between portrait painters and political writers. Joshua Reynolds (1723–92) was the best-known producer of and apologist for idealist portraiture in the latter eighteenth century; Burke was the chief apologist for idealist political representation during the same period. Each represented the other ideally, Reynolds with paint and Burke with rhetoric, reinforcing connections between idealist aesthetics in portraiture and politics. Reynolds painted Burke idealistically in 1774;[5] Burke reciprocated with a eulogy for Reynolds in 1792, nominated "as fine a portrait as Sir Joshua ever painted" by one of Burke's political opponents (Rogers, introduction to *The Works of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke*, 1834, 1.xxxiii). Reynolds idealized Burke for championing idealist political representation; Burke idealized Reynolds for producing idealist portraits: "In painting portraits he appears not to be raised upon that platform, but to descend to it from a higher sphere," bringing to portraiture "a dignity derived from the higher branches" (Reynolds, *Complete Works* 1.lxxvii).

Under idealist aesthetics, the ordinary have no social, semantic, or representational significance; both politicians and artists in the period cannot conceive why the unremarkable should be or how they could be represented in either politics or portraiture. Burke can perceive the political representation of the ordinary only as a parody and travesty of idealist representation. For him, the post-Revolutionary French Assembly is "a profane burlesque and abominable perversion of that sacred institute" (322), "illegitimate and usurped . . . a vain mockery" (307). Artist and art critic Henry Fuseli similarly protests in a lecture given in 1801 that the spread of portraiture to the ordinary middle classes has made it "the representation of pomp among negative subjects" and that a portrait of "the insignificant individual . . . can personify nothing but his opulence or his pretense" (448–9).

When the ordinary middle classes aspire to idealist representation in social realist fiction they are also roundly mocked, as this passage from Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766) illustrates:

> We desired to have something in a brighter style and, after many debates, at length came to a unanimous resolution of being drawn together in one large historical family piece. This would be cheaper, since one frame would serve for all, and it would be infinitely more genteel, for all families of any taste were now drawn in the same manner. As we did not immediately recollect an historical subject to hit

> us, we were contented each with being drawn as independent historical figures. My wife desired to be represented as Venus and the painter was desired not to be too frugal of *his* diamonds in her stomacher and hair. Her two little ones were to be as Cupids by her side, while I, in my gown and band, was to present her with my books on the Whistonian controversy. Olivia would be drawn as an Amazon sitting upon a bank of flowers, dressed in a green Joseph, richly laced with gold and a whip in her hand. Sophia was to be a shepherdess, with as many sheep as the painter could put in for nothing and Moses was to be dressed out with a hat and white feather. . . . The picture, therefore, instead of gratifying our vanity, as we hoped, leaned in a most mortifying manner against the kitchen wall, where the canvas was stretched and painted, much too large to be got through any of the doors, and the jest of all our neighbors. (105, emphasis in original)

Such a portrait is out of place in a vicar's domain—in every sense of the phrase.

Subsequently, critics of ordinary representation draw on shared rhetoric and theories of inherence to attack it. Fuseli assaults common portraits and common persons in a common rhetoric: "The portrait I mean is that common one, as widely spread as confined in its principle: the remembrancer of insignificance . . . in attitude without action, features without meaning, dress without drapery, and situation without propriety" (448). The insignificant should not be signified; their situation in both society and portraiture lacks propriety. Fuseli concludes of "the insignificant individual" that "his head . . . is furniture" (448–9)—so much for the bourgeois face representing soul, intellect, and character.

Even had bourgeois aspirations to idealist representation been accepted, mimetic realism was to prove a far more powerful weapon in the contests fought between the middling and higher ranks over both portrait and political representation. Portrait historians trace "a shift from romance to realism" in British portraiture between 1620 and 1790, epitomized by the movement from "the 'iconic' portraits of Lely to the individualized and personalized portraits of the 'naturalistic' artists of the late eighteenth century" (Pointon, *Hanging the Head* 4–5). Although the shift was by no means unilateral or linear, it was nevertheless a shift. While "deviations from the ideal were unusual in the Renaissance," West attests, "they become common in portraits from the nineteenth century onwards" (*Portraiture* 28). That realism became synonymous with "the portrait style" and contrasted to "the ideal style" (e.g., "C. A. Böttiger's 'Sketches,'" 1807, 465) in discussions of Greek art further indicates the growing dominance of realist aesthetics in portraiture.

Realist aesthetics and portraiture practices opened conceptual spaces in which

to figure the ordinary and middling as appropriate and natural rather than debased or ludicrous subjects of political representation. They had been used to represent the middle and lower orders in Dutch painting from the seventeenth century. The *Spectator* letter cited earlier commends Dutch painting both for its depiction of "drolls" (the lower orders comically represented) and for "a near finished manner of working" (mimetic realism). In 1810 critic John Gould objects to such representations: "Far from excelling in the beauty of heads and forms, they seem to delight in the exact imitation of the lowest and most ignoble. Their subjects are derived from the tavern, the smith's shop, and from the vulgar amusement of the rudest peasants" (1.xlvi).

Subsequently, other critics spring to the defense of the Dutch school, elevating it by infusing it with romanticized nature, sentiment, and bourgeois values. Acknowledging that Dutch painters "have offended Fuseli and other teachers of the grand style . . . by embalming in exquisite and lasting colors common and unpoetic pursuits," Allan Cunningham nevertheless contends:

> Those who dislike the masters of the Dutch school must mean that they are averse to any representation of ordinary nature . . . painting, like poetry, has many classes, all capable of seizing the feeling of mankind. So far, then, from insulting, like Fuseli, the painters of domestic happiness and household thrift, we ought to be pleased that artists are found who turn to such themes from matters stern and tragic and produce humble, but not unlovely, things to please such hearts as care not to be moved alone by poetic grandeur or dazzled by historic magnificence. (1829, 822)

Infused with such ideologies, mimetic realist aesthetics validates ordinary identities, valorizes ordinary subjects, and challenges the monopoly of honorific and idealist aesthetics on named portraiture.

More than this, the moral and mental qualities on which the middle classes pride themselves and predicate their ascendancy in the period are *themselves* figured as mimetic. Rejecting Reynolds's theory of painting as "a middle point of perfection" between nature and abstraction, "a middle central form, obtained by leaving out the peculiarities of all the others, which alone is the pure standard of truth and beauty" (Hazlitt, "On the Elgin Marbles," 1822, 446, 454), bourgeois artists and critics turn to mimesis to forge a new middle way. Mimetic aesthetics draws a new middle line between resembling and equal sides: "All likeness and resemblance is indeed an equality already begun" (review of Castell's *Universal Mathematics*, 1730, 192). Rejecting hierarchical chains of imaging, mimetic resemblance democratizes representation and social value: "Every resemblance may be reduced to an equality" (*Encyclopaedia Perthensis*, 1816, 1.707).

The moral and intellectual traits espoused by the middle orders, and in which they often find the higher orders wanting, are predicated on concepts, rhetoric, and etymologies of sameness, likeness, resemblance, and equality. Justice, its symmetric sameness symbolized by balanced scales, is defined as dealing fairly, impartially, and equitably—in the *same* way—with different persons. Truthfulness requires saying the *same* as what one knows or believes; sincerity means saying the *same* as one thinks and feels. Reliability, trustworthiness, and dependability are traits demarcating *sameness* between word and deed or consistent, *similar* performance. Loyalty, duty, commitment, devotion, allegiance, fidelity, and constancy all valorize a *sameness* of social relations. Perseverance, determination, persistence, fortitude, and endurance are qualities marked by *sameness* of intent and action in the face of opposition and obstacles.

Moral traits manifesting sameness are joined by states of mind emphasizing mental consistency to complete the bourgeois catalog of social values. As chapter 1 notes and chapter 6 expands upon, resemblance is central to eighteenth-century theories of mind. Reason or ratiocination has etymological roots in *ratio*, the balancing of accounts. Samuel Johnson's dictionary and encyclopedias of the period cite Henry More's equation of reason with the perception of symmetry, equality, and correspondence of parts (cf. mimetic matching): "Symmetry, equality, and correspondence of parts is the discernment of reason, not the object of sense" (see their entries for *symmetry*).

Gothic fiction interprets symmetry in its heroines as evidence of moral self-sameness and sameness with moral others: "In person, Emily resembled her mother, having the *same* elegant *symmetry* of form, the *same* delicacy of features, and the *same* blue eyes, full of tender sweetness" (Radcliffe, *Mysteries of Udolpho*, 1794, 1.14, emphasis added). Symmetry is found not only between her body and mother's and between her body and her own soul but also between those two forms of symmetry. Moreover, there emerges a further sameness *with symmetry itself*.

Catherine Cuthbertson's *Santo Sebastiano* (1806) invokes symmetry more didactically to validate bourgeois values and condemn aristocratic ones when it contrasts two young women—one, an aristocrat, the other, a heroine whose branch of an aristocratic family has sunk into the middle classes:

> Lady Fontsevern . . . sailed and flourished about the room, showing her deficiency in grace, her defects of person, and the awkward angles of her limbs most strikingly. . . .
>
> Miss Julia de Clifford['s] . . . light and beautiful figure, now all in graceful mo-

> tion, tripping with agile speed . . . show[ed] the whole contour of her form, combined by the happiest efforts of harmonious symmetry, so much delighting Lord Delamore that he gazed upon her as if she was the principal dancer in some grand ballet of action, moving there, in the character of Innocence, to fascinate every beholder. (3.9)

Symmetry is equally prized in painting. In 1803 William Mavor includes "symmetry of form" among the traits characterizing "a picture of excellence": "[T]he whole effect instantaneously produced by a picture of excellence creates a sensation, which in point of vividness and force cannot be equaled by any other effort of human genius" (419). Drawing on theories of immanence, pictures and persons are both democratized and elevated by symmetry.

Bourgeois critics not only find the elite and their portraits lacking under mimetic aesthetics but furthermore find idealist aesthetics and those represented by them to be false, immoral—even monstrous. *A General Dictionary of Commerce, Trade, and Manufacturers* (Mortimer 1810) indicts idealist painters as "more willing to court favor than fame"; an obituary for Reynolds nominates him "that elegant flatterer of humanity on canvas" ("Apology for Portrait Painters," 1824, 197). Even those who praise Reynolds perceive his idealism to be complicit with inaccuracy and falsehood: "His drawing, though incorrect, had always something of grandeur in it" (Gould 1810, 1.liii). Concomitantly, even those who criticize Dutch painters for their lack of grandeur praise them for their correctness and truth: "It must be acknowledged, at the same time, that the Dutch painters have succeeded in several branches of the art. If they have chosen low subjects of imitation, they have represented them with great exactness, and truth must always please" (Gould 1.xlvi).

The association of realist aesthetics with truth constructs a moral high ground for the ordinary and middling from which to attack idealist aesthetics and honorific portraiture as untrue. James Boswell once asked Samuel Johnson "which he preferred, fine portraits, or those of which the merit was resemblance."

> JOHNSON. Sir, their chief excellence is being like.
>
> BOSWELL. Are you of that opinion as to the portraits of ancestors, whom one has never seen?
>
> JOHNSON. It then becomes of more consequence that they should be like . . . Truth, Sir, is of the greatest value in these things. (Boswell 5.249)

In 1823 Isaac Disraeli complains that idealized historical portraits render it impossible to establish their authenticity: "We have too many suppositious heads

and ideal personages" (77). The irony is palpable: realist aesthetics renders inauthentic those very idealist portraits intended to authenticate entitlement.

Critics of idealist representation press continuities between portraits, artists, and sitters further in assessments that attribute the inaccuracies of idealist portraiture to a lack of industry. John Knowles praises Fuseli's "preeminent faculty of invention and success in the portraiture of the ideal" but critiques "his deficiencies as to correctness and disinclination to laborious finish" (1831, 1:395). Cunningham's critique extends from artists to sitters:

> [Dutch portraits] have no men sitting and neither working nor thinking, like some of our island portraits, nor have they such a thing as a pattern-lady—on whose fine shape dress-makers display their costliest silks and rarest fashions . . . they are always employed; every one is doing something that requires to be done, and doing it neatly and gracefully. (823)

A periodical writer, "The Hermit in London," figures idealist aesthetics as morally reprehensible in other ways: as the product of vanity. Called on by "Her Grace" to account for why her portrait was "not like," "I saw immediately its defects in *her* eyes: it was not handsome enough—not ten years younger than herself—in a word, not sufficiently flattering; but I could not tell her so" (1818, 587, emphasis in original). After witnessing Her Grace demand a fuller bosom, different nose, younger complexion, and lighter eye, and seeing numerous other women demand similar ideal representations of themselves in fierce competition with each other, he concludes:

> Of one thing I was convinced: namely, that to picture our acquaintances and friends, or even public characters, strict resemblance without flattery is necessary. The general expression of the countenance, the prevalent habit of the original, and the dress usually worn by her or by him are equally requisite. Our wife or daughter should be a woman and not a goddess; our friend or acquaintance should be a gentleman and not a hero of antiquity; else we may have a very fine picture, yet like nobody whom we know—a mere matter of fancy. (589)

Idealist aesthetics renders both historical and contemporary portraits useless for social identification: they are "like nobody." Such criticism shifts the emphasis from attacks on portraiture for representing "nobodies" to attacks on idealist portraiture for representing "nobody whom we know" or who could be known by mimetic matching.

Critiques of idealist portraiture, then, progress from attacking ordinary subjects for pretentiously aspiring to it, to attacking the elite for being inauthentically

represented by it, to attacking idealism itself as a pretentious mode of representation. While Oliver Goldsmith represents a lone voice condemning Reynolds for his allegorical portraits in 1774 ("It very ill becomes a man of your eminence and character, Sir Joshua, to condescend to be a mean flatterer" [Reynolds, *Complete Works* 1.liii]), his critique of allegorical portraiture in *The Vicar of Wakefield* extends to aristocratic allegorical portraiture in Eleanor Sleath's *The Orphan of the Rhine* (1798), in which a heroine raised among the bourgeoisie condemns such portraits as "in general ill-designed and executed" (43). Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) presents experience as an empirical force disproving idealism as both aesthetic principle and social ideology: "[T]he flattering portrait of mankind, which his heart had delineated in early youth, his experience had too sorrowfully corrected" (1.3). By 1825, the *London Magazine and Review* expresses general public opinion when it declares "allegorical painting . . . a fashion, and a most absurd one" ("The British Institution" 395).

Making demigods of the titled and wealthy may represent a reality of sorts—the reality of their elite social status. Attacks on such representations as absurd extend via immanence to the absurdity of their social status. Idealist aesthetics are charged not only with falsehood and indolence but also with unnaturalness and monstrosity. While Reynolds claims that idealist painting is "nature elevated and improved" (*Literary Works* 1.215), champions of realist aesthetics disagree: "Painting is so perfectly the slave of Nature, that whenever she attempts to shake off the authority of the latter, she strays and loses herself: it may be said that, as often as she is guilty of infidelity toward her, she produces nothing but monsters" ("Exhibition at the Louvre, 1802," 25). Accusations of monstrosity extend from portraiture to politics. In her response to Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* (1790), Mary Wollstonecraft juxtaposes "the struggles of virtuous poverty" with the self-serving battles of militant rulers, arguing that such a portraiture of politics makes "us view with horror, as monsters in human shape, the superb gallery of portraits proudly set in battle array" (103). In both accounts, idealism produces monsters when juxtaposed to realist aesthetics, deemed "natural," or to the virtuous poor, whose suffering and oppression are made visible by realist representation. Thomas Paine's response to Burke's *Reflections*, *Rights of Man* (1791–2), also points to the dark underbelly of elitist representation, in which the "vast mass of mankind are degradedly thrown into the background of the human picture to bring forward, with greater glare, the puppet-show of state and aristocracy" (23). Soulless puppets rather than manifestations of higher souls, as idealism claims, elite rulers lack the inherent identity of the *imago dei*, imaging nothing but artifice.

Richard Price, whose sermon "On the Love of Our Country" had provoked Burke's *Reflections*, charges elitist political representation with the whole spectrum of faults attributed to idealist portraiture: elitism, oppression, injustices, superficiality, artificiality, illegality, and corruption:

> [W]hen the representation is partial, the kingdom possesses liberty only partially; and if extremely partial, it gives only a *semblance*; and if not only extremely partial, but corruptly chosen, it becomes a *nuisance* [illegal], and produces the worst of all forms of government—a government by corruption. (40, emphasis in original)

"Semblance" means dissembling resemblance; like Paine's "puppet-show of state and aristocracy," "extremely partial" political representation manifests falsehood and artifice rather than inherent imaging.

A General Dictionary of Commerce (Mortimer 1810) voices a growing discourse demanding that the deformities of the monstrous elite be represented in realist aesthetics:

> It has been sometimes suggested by those who are more willing to court favor than fame that all appearances of deformity . . . ought to be omitted or corrected in portraiture. . . . In the portraits of particularly distinguished characters, of men illustrious either for rank, virtue, great actions, or exalted talents, exactitude of representation, whether of beauties or defects, cannot be too closely pursued. Portraits of such persons are to become the standing monuments of their high name to posterity and in this instance every thing is precious that is faithful. (entry for "Portraiture," under "Painting," n.p.)

Mimetic realism is to be a leveling representational force. By contrast, idealist painting elevates, seeking "a middle point of perfection" between nature and abstraction—"a middle central form obtained by leaving out the peculiarities of all the others, which alone is the pure standard of truth and beauty" (Hazlitt, "On the Elgin Marbles," 446, 454). Asserting that "a history painter paints man in general; a portrait painter, a particular man, and consequently a defective model," Reynolds advises that, "as the natural dignity of the subject is less, the more all the little ornamental helps are necessary to its embellishment" (*Seven Discourses*, 1778, 138). Idealist aesthetics, then, considers nature and individualism *themselves* to be defective, requiring correction by "the general" and "ornamental": "[I]n portraits, the grace and, we may add, the likeness, consists more in taking the general air than in observing the exact similitude of every feature" (*Seven Discourses* 107). Defects in the noble and celebrated should not be represented:

> Alexander is said to have been of a low stature; a painter ought not so to represent him. Agesilaus was low, lame, and of a mean appearance. None of these defects ought to appear in a piece of which he is the hero . . . this part of the art . . . ought to be called poetical, as in reality it is. All this is not falsifying any fact; it is taking an allowed poetical license. (*Seven Discourses* 110)

Yet when artist and art critic John Opie attacks "the inordinate rage for portrait painting . . . by which [the artist] is condemned for ever to study and copy the wretched defects and conform to the still more wretched prejudices of every tasteless and ignorant individual, however, in form, features, and mind utterly hostile to all ideas of character, expression, and sentiment" (1807, 257), he does not recommend that *their* defects be embellished, ornamented, or omitted. Realist aesthetics seeks to abolish this classed double standard. Indeed, antiaristocratic politics had long been associated with realist portraiture. As a tale often reprinted between 1764 and 1835 recounts,

> When Oliver Cromwell sat for his picture to Lely, his observations to that great master of his art mark the Lord Protector's masculine notions: "I desire, Mr. Lely," said he, "that you will not leave out the warts and excrescences on my face; for if it be not a faithful picture, I would not give you a penny for your work." (Hardcastle, 1824, 149)

Cromwell's "masculine notions" contrast favorably to the feminine vanity of "Her Grace" cited earlier.

Realism furthermore undermines established power structures through its associations with caricature, often appearing to exaggerate the deformities that idealist painting had for so long repressed. In Matthew Lewis, "My Uncle's Garrett-Window" (1808), a boy produces a drawing of his aunt:

> I never saw a more striking resemblance! 'Tis the aunt's profile and as ugly as life! There is no mistaking it; not a wrinkle about the corners of her little fiery eyes is omitted; the twist of her nose is hit off to a nicety . . . nay, he has not forgotten even the great wart with which her chin is decorated. To be sure, the portrait is not a flattering one, but it is the very counterpart of Nature in all her undisguised deformity. But what can have induced the young rogue to employ his . . . pen on such an unpromising subject? This is the first caricature that I ever saw him attempt. (62–3)

Caricature, defined as an exaggeration of reality, is here deemed "the very counterpart of Nature in all her undisguised deformity" rather than an exaggeration of it. It is a "striking resemblance" that assaults authority; it causes its sitter to strike

both artist and portrait in retaliation: she beats the boy and destroys the portrait in an act of iconoclasm against her own realist representation.

The narrator has the final word when he, like Opie, questions why "such an unpromising subject" would be represented at all, since she possesses neither title nor honorific achievement nor sentimental value. Hartley Coleridge offers an answer:

> [T]he philosopher—the feeling investigator of human nature who loves his species . . . and therefore thinks all that belongs to man important and interesting . . . will not despise the meanest sketch, profile, or outline that presents a human face; he will smile benignantly at the veriest daub that ever stared from the smoky walls of a club room. (33)

Humanist philosophers value portraits of the socially insignificant, democratically granting representational value to all.

Mimetic aesthetics are similarly invoked in the period to promote the political representational rights of all men and to challenge metonymic modes of representation with metaphorical ones. Idealist aesthetics are predicated on displacement rather than inherence. A critic of Lawrence's portrait of William Pitt (1759–1806) assesses that it

> has a mixture of ideal art with a sufficiency of that personal resemblance which a portrait requires. It is Mr. Pitt taken in his happiest mood and represented rather in the dignity of his actions and the elevation of his great mind than in the faithful portraiture of his person. It is a portrait in the epic style of painting, and worthy of going down to posterity. (1807 review, qtd. in "Sir Thomas Lawrence" 273)[6]

Pitt's "personal resemblance" under idealist aesthetics requires setting his body *against* both his "great mind" and "the dignity of his actions." Idealist aesthetics here *rupture* chains of imaged identity between mind, body, and portrait, as the body belies the mind and the portrait belies the body to be true to the mind. The idealist portrait, then, *displaces* rather than *images* the body. In the same way, idealist political representation displaces subjects with representatives who do not resemble them.

A mimetic aesthetics of political representation demands that politicians *resemble* those they represent. In 1701 Daniel Defoe had addressed Parliament: "And you, gentlemen of the House of Commons, who are the representatives of your country, you are this great collective body in miniature; you are an abridgment of the many volumes of the English nation" (6). But Defoe's metaphors emphasize symbolic words as well; moreover, idealist aesthetics would have elevated

politicians above those they represented in the miniature metaphor. By the end of the century, radical politicians protested that the House of Commons did *not* resemble the people. A new rhetoric of mimetic political representation—a corrective and prescriptive one—arose after the American Revolution. In 1776 John Adams recommends that "the representative assembly . . . should be in miniature an exact portrait of the people at large. It should think, reason, feel, and act like them" (195). In 1788 Melancthon Smith concurs:

> The idea that naturally suggests itself to our minds when we speak of representatives is that they *resemble* those they represent; they should be a true *picture* of the people, possess the knowledge of their circumstances and their wants, sympathize in all their distresses, and be disposed to seek their true interests. (*The Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of New York* 31, emphasis added)

These ideals are anchored to ordinary bourgeois interests when, in the same paragraph, Smith mandates that representatives must "understand the true commercial interests of a country" and, in the next, insists that government "should admit those of the middling class of life" (31–2).

American Antifederalist speeches are similarly shot through with a rhetoric of likeness and resemblance:

> The very term representative implies that the person or body chosen for this purpose should *resemble* those who appoint them—a representation of the people of America, if it be a true one, must be *like* the people.
>
> Effective and thoroughgoing responsibility is to be found only in a *likeness* between the representative body and the citizens at large.
>
> The representative body is seen . . . as a substitute for an assembly of all the citizens, which ought to be as *like* the whole body as possible. . . . What is wanted in a representative system is not "brilliant talents" but "a *sameness* as to residence and interests between the representative and his constituents." (Storing 2.9, 17, 43, emphasis added)

Thomas Paine, who supported the American Revolution, draws on realist aesthetics and practices of portraiture to reconstruct relations between imaged identity and social value and to promote a mimetic principle of political representation, one in which men are represented by those who resemble them rather than by those to whom they defer as idealized superiors. *Rights of Man* uses natural realist aesthetics drawn from portraiture to advocate for natural political rights. Tracing the British deference for origins, history, and tradition back into the pre-

history of Genesis, it creates a new theory of the *imago dei* that prohibits elitist representation.

Intriguingly, Paine's mimetic theory of political representation can to a degree be traced to Burke's own *Thoughts on the Present Discontents* (1770), which invokes metaphors of imaging and imprinting to envision an ideal House of Commons: "The virtue, spirit, and essence of a House of Commons consists in its being the express image of the feelings of the nation"; members of the House of Commons should "be made to bear some stamp of the actual disposition of the people at large." However, Burke's resemblances are located in immaterial "feelings" and "disposition" rather than in material resources and social status. Moreover, Burke is careful to qualify that "a popular origin cannot . . . be the characteristical distinction of the popular representative. This belongs equally to all parts of Government," arguing, "The king is the representative of the people; so are the lords; so are the judges. They all are trustees for the people" (67–8). As trustees, they own and administer the nation rather than resemble and image it.

By contrast, the best government for Paine is "like the nation itself"; "it possesses a perpetual stamina, as well of body as of mind" (122). Likeness between representative and represented encompasses bodies and minds, reinforcing their inherences in each other. Contrasting the "puppet theater of state and aristocracy," mimetic representation "presents itself on the open theater of the world in a fair and manly manner. Whatever are its excellences or defects, they are visible to all. It exists not by fraud and mystery; it deals not in cant and sophistry; but inspires a language that, passing from heart to heart, is felt and understood" (122). Representative government resembles those whom it represents in substantial, concrete, and visible ways, not in the empty rhetoric of symbolic language and the invisible resemblances of idealist aesthetics. Like Cromwell's portraiture aesthetic, it is willing to include defects.

Paine rejects idealism in constitutions as well as in governments, insisting on realism: "A constitution is not a thing in name only, but in fact. It has not an ideal, but a real existence and, wherever it cannot be produced in a visible form, there is none" (33). While for Burke those who reject idealist representation are "without taste for the reality or for any image or representation of virtue" (206), for Paine realist representation reveals the *lack* of virtue in the ideally represented: "If we would delineate human nature with a baseness of heart and hypocrisy of countenance that reflection would shudder at and humanity disown, it is kings, courts, and cabinets that must sit for the portrait" (112). Insisting that his "is the only system in which nations and governments can always appear in their proper character" (139), Paine locates "proper character" in the ordinary middle classes

elected to govern France and excoriated by Burke: "The National Assembly must throw open a magazine of light. It must show man the proper character of man" (50).

Paine further rejects the resemblances of hereditary power, arguing that, "in good theory, an hereditary transmission of any power of office can never accord with the laws of a true representation" (115). For Paine, hereditary resemblance and political representation are circular and solipsistic: "[T]he members of one of the Houses of Parliament represent nobody but themselves" (189).

More substantially and profoundly, he reworks the theories of the *imago dei* underpinning both aristocratic political and portrait representation, democratizing and revolutionizing them. Propounding universal "inherent," "natural" theories of the *imago dei* and divine right, he makes these the grounds for universal (adult male) suffrage. Identifying Genesis rather than the Norman Conquest as the origin of imaged identity, he insists that the *imago dei* applies to all men and that "[i]n the image of God created he him; male and female created he them" articulates no class distinction.[7] Paine figures the regal and aristocratic *imago dei* as idolatry rather than divine imaging: "an idol which they called Divine Right" (32).

The aristocratic *imago dei* is postlapsarian; each man represents a further falling off from his original ancestor and each representational imaging marks a further falling off from the original divine image (soul → body → portrait → engraving of portrait; and king → lords and judges → House of Commons → people). By contrast, Paine's theory of the *imago dei* is prelapsarian, with each man newly created equally in the divine image, like Adam before the fall: "[A]ll men are born equal and with equal natural right, in the same manner as if posterity had been continued by creation instead of generation" (29). His rejection of lineal imaged identity in favor of a perpetually creational one is consonant with middle-class narratives of new beginnings and revolutionary calls for new orders.

Paine rejects aristocracy's hierarchical and linear chains of imaged identities—

God	Father	Soul
↓	↓	↓
King	Son	Body
↓	↓	↓
Nobles	Grandson	Portrait
↓	↓	↓
(etc.)	(etc.)	(etc.)

rendering them democratically horizontal, reducing the number of links, simultaneously extending and short-circuiting them:

Deity → All Men → Representation of All Men

His deism renders divine inherence, if not completely nonhierarchical, far less of a top-down affair.

The inherent equal right to equal political representation is a mirror-mimetic one, creating two-way inherence, resemblance, and imaging. Political representatives are to inhere in, resemble, and image the people they represent, as in post-Revolutionary France: "The representatives of the nation, who compose the National Assembly and who are the legislative power, originate in and from the people by election, as an inherent right in the people" (47). By contrast, "both [British] Houses of Parliament originated from what is called the crown by patent or boon—and not from the inherent rights of the people" (48). It is not only the power of election that causes representatives to "originate from the people" but also the representatives' inherent, imaged identity with the people. Such positioning of the people as origin and representatives as images of the people constitutes a radical retheorizing of imaged identity, in diametric conflict with Burke's insistence that "[a] popular origin cannot therefore be the characteristical distinction of the popular representative" (67).

As aristocratic thinkers had pressed inherent connections between natural and civil rights, so too does Paine: "Every civil right has for its foundation some natural right pre-existing in the individual" (30–1). Paine defines the two connected rights: "Natural rights are those which appertain to man in right of his existence. . . . Civil rights are those which appertain to man in right of his being a member of society" (30). Civil rights should inhere in and image natural rights. All men made equally in the image of God have equal civil rights, one of which is to equal political representation. The inherent equality of man requires the equal political representation of all men, because equal rights mean that one man's rights must resemble another's. Equal representation means that one man's representation must resemble another's and that representatives must resemble those they represent. In Paine's model, then, all men not only resemble the divine image; they also resemble each other, and their inherent rights further resemble each other's. Paine's is a cyclical process of ever-renewing, ever-mirroring, reciprocal images rather than the circular, exclusive logic of idealist aesthetics or a linear process of ever-fainter images of images.

Natural Man → (through the *imago dei* inherently equal) ↑	Civil Man → (with inherently equal civil rights)	Political Representation ↓ (images equal civil rights *and* images equality *and* images the *imago dei* itself) ↓
←	←	←

Mimetic representation, then, represents equality through imaging, going further to claim an inherent identity *with equality itself* by imaging and resembling *it*. Even more radically, mimetic representation lays claim to an inherent identity with the principle of *imago dei* by imaging and resembling *it*. Importantly, it does not lay claim to identity with the divine or with origin or essence, as aristocratic ideology does. Rather, it lays claim to the *principle of imaging*, which would prove a far more flexible and dexterous tool for middle-class ascendancy. In laying claim to the principle of imaging, Paine sabotages the hierarchical sequence of authority → the representation of authority, inverting and condensing it to *the authority of representation*. Traditionally, the powerful had predicated their greater social value and authority on claims that they were closer to the divine image than other men were and had vested representations, such as portraits, money, medallions, laws, political structures, and progeny, with their imaged authority. Paine reverses and democratizes such sequencing when he insists on the authority of representation for all men.

The authority of representation emerges most clearly in Paine's displacement of the long-standing political analogy of the body with the *represented* body. Woodall attests: "The metaphor of the body politic meant that portraiture played a vital ideological role" in politics (3). Burke's central metaphor for government is the well-established one of the body: "Our political system is placed in a just correspondence and symmetry with the order of the world and with the mode of existence decreed to a permanent body composed of transitory parts" (275). Paine counters: "A nation *is not a body*, the figure of which is to be represented by the human body, *but is like a body* contained within a circle, having a common center, in which every radius meets, and that center is formed by representation" (121, emphasis added). Also as in portraiture, the body cedes to its representation, and identity ("is a body") cedes to simile ("like a body"). As in portraiture, the body-as-likeness is contained within a representational frame. But Paine's is a circular rather than rectangular frame, reinforcing the cyclical lines that govern his *imago dei* over and against the vertical and horizontal lines of the aristocratic *imago dei*.

The represented body of the nation is not divided into traditional, hierarchi-

cally arranged body parts, with the head (king) having authority over the parts. Rather, the represented body is geometrically dissected by concentric radii running from circumference to center. Geometrics and ratios replace organic, asymmetrical body parts to ensure fair, equal, and complete representation: "The French Constitution says that the number of representatives for any place shall be in a ratio to the number of taxable inhabitants or electors." Paine nominates this "a fair representation of the people" (35). The represented body further precludes the House of Commons from "absorb[ing] the rights of the nation into [itself as] organ and mak[ing itself as] . . . organ into a nation and the nation itself into a cipher" (82).

Most radically of all in terms of the *imago dei*, Paine makes representation the *center* of the framed and segmented body. By situating representation in place of the heart or soul, the traditional center of imaged identity and the *imago dei*, he ties representation to both even as he displaces the priority of both with the priority of representation. As representation links circumference to center, traversing, segmenting, and ordering everything between, it becomes omnipresent, omnipotent, and omnivorous.

When Paine's theory displaces the organic body with the represented body, his recommendations for political practice displace civic bodies with representative bodies. Paine deems Britain "too populous and too extensive for the simple democratical form" (118), in which each man represents himself and participates in government. Therefore, he advocates that the physical and civic bodies of most men be dropped from the chain of representation, so that only representation remains: "[T]he representative system naturally presents itself, remedying at once the defects of the simple democracy as to form and the incapacity of the other two [aristocratic and monarchical] with respect to knowledge" (120). Although political representatives have bodies, their function as representatives allows for the displacement of other bodies from the political system.

If, for Paine, equal, mimetic representation is the source and ground of all legitimate political authority, for Burke political authority is the source and ground of all legitimate representation. All representation that does not derive from it and conform to it lacks authority; all representation running at odds with it must be subjected to authority. Burke's reply to Paine's *Rights of Man* is less an intellectual engagement with Paine's reasoning than an insistence that Paine's treasonous and libelous representations be subjected to authority and the legal representations of authority. Paine was, in fact, charged with seditious libel; legal representations of authority were set against his insistence on the authority of representation and the right of representation to challenge established author-

ity. Paine's demands for wider political representation, then, tie to demands for freedom of representation more generally. He joins Price and others in demanding that kings and aristocrats be subject to the representations of others, both discursively and politically. For Burke, all representation must be subject to the law as the coercive and punitive representation of authority: "Let these gentlemen state who that *representative* public is to whom they will affirm the king, as a servant, to be responsible. It will then be time enough for me to produce to them the positive statute law which affirms that he is not" (270, emphasis in original).

By radical contrast, Paine makes representation the ground of authority and subjects authority to it. Such privileging of representation over traditional authority was to become integral to middle-class reworkings of picture identification. Today, it is my passport, not my body, that grants me the authority to cross national borders; it is my driving license, not my skill in driving, that authorizes me to drive. While most critics of passports and other government documents emphasize the authority of the bodies *issuing* identity documents (e.g., Torpey; Vacca), the efficacy of well-forged documents not issued by governing bodies to bestow the privileges of legitimate documents and the failure of bodies authorized to access privileges, spaces, and resources in the absence of identity documents situate the authority in the documents themselves, apart from the bodies they represent and the official bodies that issue them. Here as in Paine's arguments, authority lies in representation more than in the represented or those producing representations. Given that portraits are deemed to be representations of representations of representations of an intangible and inaccessible origin (images of bodies, which are images of souls, which are images of parents or God or classical essence), it is nothing short of a representational revolution that the presiding principle, representation, derives from near the end of the chain, far from the authoritative traditional source. Only one link in the chain comes later—the imaging of imaged identity called perception, which is the subject of chapter 6. However, before we consider the authority granted to viewer-readers of picture identification, we must address the family politics of picture identification.

CHAPTER FOUR

Matriarchal versus Patriarchal Picture Identification

ANTONIA. My mother . . .
THE MARQUIS. Was an angel.
ANTONIA. And my father . . .
THE MARQUIS. A villain.
—Louisa Sidney Stanhope, *Striking Likenesses* (1808, 3.8)

[T]heir portraits, with those of their ladies, occupied a long gallery, whose arched window cast a dim religious light upon them.
—Regina Maria Roche,
The Children of the Abbey (1796, 1.238)

Aristocratic ideology is definitively patriarchal. James I, the British monarch most insistent upon the divine right of kings, justifies regal authority by analogy to familial patriarchal authority:

> Now a father may dispose of his inheritance to his children at his pleasure: yea, even disinherit the eldest upon just occasions and prefer the youngest according to his liking; make them beggars or rich at his pleasure; restrain or banish out of his presence . . . so may the King deal with his subjects. (1609, xxxix)

Assaults on aristocratic identities therefore extend from individuals to families. Thomas Paine argues that, for all the aristocratic emphasis on procreation, primogeniture has but one focus:

> Aristocracy has never but *one* child. The rest are begotten to be devoured. . . . All the children which the aristocracy disowns (which are all except the eldest) are, in general, cast like orphans on a parish, to be provided for by the public, but at a greater charge. Unnecessary offices and places in governments and courts are created at the expense of the public to maintain them. . . . By nature they are children, and by marriage they are heirs, but by aristocracy they are bastards and orphans. (69–70, emphasis in original)

As Gothic fiction is filled with seeming bastards and orphans who lay claim to aristocratic status, late eighteenth-century society is permeated with aristocratic children cast off by their families to become government-subsidized "bastards and orphans."

Gothic fiction further challenges aristocratic ideology by critiquing primogeniture and patriarchal power over progeny. When procreative success produces a surplus population, patriarchs seek to control their progeny's procreation, forcing marriages to strengthen landed power and sentencing surplus children to celibacy in religious orders. Married to Christ, surplus progeny lose family names and take on new forenames. Edward Ball's *The Black Robber* (1819) is one of many Gothic novels to contrast firstborn noble sons, "surrounded by the minions of greatness and nursed in the lap of ease" (1.15), to younger sons dispatched to monasteries "to preserve the dignity of their [family's] house and ancestry in the enrichment of their descending representatives" (1.11). However, even heirs have no distinct identity; they are merely "descending representatives" of patriarchs. Women fare similarly: one aristocratic daughter is forced to marry against her own desires (1.23); another is exiled to a convent to enlarge her sister's dowry (1.42). *The Black Robber* subjects aristocratic family values to a moralistic, democratic, sentimental critique: "Here let us for a moment pause and reflect on the cruelty which thus could induce the heart of a parent to sacrifice at the shrine of pride and ambition his unoffending child" (1.11).

Patriarchal violation of bourgeois sentiment produces rage and revolution in progeny: "[T]he genial and heartfelt offerings of [the younger son's] breast became less subservient to filial and brotherly affections" until "they totally ceased to exist." As "a thousand bold and extravagant ideas" emerge in their place, the younger son becomes the Black Robber (1.13–4). Here, as in writings on the French Revolution, aristocratic patriarchs are seen to *produce* violence against

themselves. John Russell's *The Causes of the French Revolution* (1832) includes "the privileges of the nobility, which tended to excite a deep spirit of revenge against them" (2).

Against cycles of despotism and revolution, Anne K. Mellor suggests that "women writers of the Romantic era offer an alternative program grounded on the trope of the family-politic, on the idea of a nation-state that evolves gradually and rationally under the mutual care and guidance of both mother and father," with "domestic affections as the model for all political action," producing an "equality of the sexes" and an "egalitarian rather than patriarchal family" (*Romanticism and Gender* 65–7). Nancy Armstrong argues similarly that nineteenth-century fiction sets domesticity against genealogy, attaching "psychological motives to what had been the openly political behavior of contending groups" in order "to evaluate these according to a set of moral norms that exalt[s] the domestic woman over and above her aristocratic counterpart" (*Desire and Domestic Fiction* 18, 5). My argument both builds on and departs from these and other critical connections forged between class and gender. It probes how matriarchal picture identifications vie with patriarchal ones to set bourgeois against aristocratic identities and ideologies. In contrast to Mellor's account, it locates points at which matriarchal picture identification is militant and destructive and, in contrast to Armstrong's focus on "a form of power that works through language—and particularly the printed word—to constitute subjectivity" (25), it demonstrates how the verbal-visual intersemiotics of picture identification construct *social* rather than solely subjective identity. My focus on picture identification further situates my arguments between Romantic studies of absent mothers (e.g., Fay, "Women and the Gothic") and maternal bodies (e.g., Kipp).

Gothic fiction ties matriarchal picture identification to bourgeois ideology to delimit, undermine, rebel against, and reform aristocratic patriarchy. *The Black Robber* opens with a didactic declaration connecting the decline of aristocratic patriarchal power to middle-class ascendancy, hailing "that glorious emancipation which enabled the virtues of the vassal to appall and bid defiance to the chieftain's vices" and "those happier laws . . . which now fix bounds even to the commands of fathers" (1.1, 11). Bourgeois morality, religion, and laws (rather than the ambition, competition, and economic practices they mask and support) are credited with delimiting regal and aristocratic power. This novel and other Gothic fiction engage matriarchal picture identification to challenge patriarchal lineal precedence, infusing matriarchal miniatures with the supernatural power of Roman Catholic icons and setting a naturalist aesthetics authorized by an omnipotent, Romantic Mother Nature against aristocratic idealist aesthetics.

Traditionally, matriarchal portraiture has been deemed subordinate to patriarchal portraiture. Yet, in spite of their subordination in aristocratic lineal galleries and marginalization in bourgeois print media galleries, women are essential to the formation of aristocratic identities, serving as consorts to patriarchs and mothers to heirs. These roles are marked by portraits: "[W]hen they were single or newly married, they became objects of display and even of fantasy; when mothers, they become the machinery by which the family name was maintained" (West, "Patronage and Power" 139). To ensure the continuity and purity of patriarchal bloodlines, aristocratic women were to be sexually compliant, fertile, and monogamous; by contrast, aristocratic men, authorized by ideologies of prowess, conquest, dominance, and ownership of other bodies, are allowed—even encouraged—to exercise dominance and procreative prerogatives outside of marriage. Although stereotypes dividing virtuous, self-sacrificing, obedient women from vicious, self-serving, oppressive men seep from aristocratic into bourgeois gender identifications, these divisions are classed as well as gendered. Similar stereotypes divide the moral, industrious, sympathetic middle classes from the immoral, indolent, cruel upper ranks.

In bourgeois Gothic fiction, paired portraits of aristocratic patriarchs and matriarchs picture-identify such moral dichotomies as both gendered and classed. Catharine Selden's *The Count de Santerre* (1797) features a patriarchal portrait

> of a man in armor: his helmet (over-shadowed by plumes of a deep crimson color) stood on the ground at his feet; he held a lance in his hand and was drawn leaning against one of the pillars of a portico, with his horse, caparisoned for war, in the background. His face was regularly handsome, his figure striking and majestic, and he was represented as in the prime of life. But a sort of fierceness seemed to flash from his piercing black eyes, rendered more striking by full black brows. (1.144)

Manifesting the aristocratic virtues of military prowess, mastery, ferocity, and majesty, this portrait contrasts sharply with its companion picture, representing

> a lady in a deep mourning habit, over which her fair hair hung in disordered luxuriance, partly covered by a thin black veil that, falling down on one side, half concealed the face of a child she held in her arms . . . in whose infant features there was so strong a resemblance to the perfect beauty of the lady as left not a doubt of her being its mother. There was a mild languor in the pale and contemplative countenance of the latter and in the soft eyes cast upwards, as she clasped the sleeping cherub, blooming as an angel, to her bosom. The attitude in which she was drawn [conveyed] an idea of tenderness and sensibility. (1.146)

Here are the ingredients of a late eighteenth-century bourgeois heroine: melancholy, devout, perfectly beautiful, mild, soft, tender, contemplative, and brimming with sensibility. Here too we find matriarchal picture identification: a child identified by resemblance to its mother rather than its father. As I argue below, the son's matriarchal picture identification reworks his patriarchal identity in the image of his mother, aligning him with bourgeois identities and values. But first the aristocratic patriarchal portrait identification that such novels undermine must be established. Gothic fiction's founding father provides one.

PATRIARCHAL PICTURE IDENTIFICATION IN *THE CASTLE OF OTRANTO*

> If man cannot be made to believe in the divine right of kings, it is better than nothing to make him believe in a ghost.
>
> —Review of *Essays on the Pursuit of Truth* (1829, 480)

> The sins of the fathers are visited on their children to the third and fourth generation.
>
> —Horace Walpole, *The Castle of Otranto* (1764, viii)

> Methought the statues of his ancestors,
> As I pass'd by them, shook their marble heads;
> His father's picture seem'd to frown in wrath,
> And its eye pierce me, while I trembling stood
> Assassin-like before it . . .
>
> —Robert Jephson, *Braganza* (1775, 302)

As Granger's *Biographical History* (1760) picture-identifies English history (see chapter 2), Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1762–80) offers a biographical history of the English arts. Walpole donated many of his portraits for engraving and inclusion in Granger's volumes; in gratitude, Granger dedicated the volumes to him. Walpole's interest in portraiture is well documented. Assiduously cataloging his own ancestral portraits and avidly collecting others, he displayed them along the walls of his pseudo-Gothic castle at Strawberry Hill, such that "the house became filled with kingly armor and rare pictures and cabinets of miniatures by Oliver and Petitot" (Knight, 1851, 98).

Walpole, later fourth Earl of Orford, also wrote the founding Gothic novel.

Although there are no maternal or matriarchal portraits in *The Castle of Otranto*, the novel contains the seeds that would produce them in subsequent Gothic fiction and manifests the vulnerabilities in aristocratic chains of imaged identity that such fiction would exploit to undermine patriarchal picture identification.

Walpole's heritage, collecting, cataloging, building, anecdotes of painting, and fiction all position his interests principally in portraiture's aristocratic forms, functions, and ideologies. Yet Walpole is not unambiguously aristocratic in his politics (see, e.g., Clery) and, even as *The Castle of Otranto* manifests anxieties about the vulnerability of aristocratic iconographies and identities to usurpation from below, it makes concessions to nonaristocratic ideologies, thereby inaugurating Gothic fiction's work of reconstructing patriarchal identities in *their* image. As a result, although portraits in *The Castle of Otranto* restore aristocratic, patriarchal power usurped by the middle ranks, their challenges to chains of imaged identity pave the way for bourgeois challenges to aristocratic power.

In *The Castle of Otranto*, divine right has gone wrong; sequences of lineal imaging and portrait imaging have been broken; the grandson of a usurping steward sits on the throne; the usurper's portrait hangs in the ancestral gallery beside the portraits of legitimate rulers. The legitimate heir is missing; the illegitimate heir is passive. The "sickly, puny child" of the illegitimate line indicates the failure of usurpers to procreate with potency (16). By contrast to absent and puny progeny, ancestral portraits are present and active. Thus, from the start, aristocracy's parallel forms of afterlife, progeny and portraits, are at odds in this novel. When the helmet from the usurped Prince Alfonso's funerary statue, supersized and animated, kills the sickly heir, a legitimate afterlife destroys an illegitimate one; a portrait wreaks revenge on progeny. The incident sets portraits and progeny at violent odds, against traditions in which they shore each other up. Portraits from both legitimate and usurping lines work against the continuation of the illegitimate one. When Manfred, his wife infertile, tries to force his dead son's fiancée to marry him and produce another heir, the portrait of his *own* grandfather, the original usurper, thwarts his procreative intent:

> "Heaven nor Hell shall impede my designs," said Manfred, advancing again to seize the princess.
>
> At that instant the portrait of his grandfather, which hung over the bench where they had been sitting, uttered a deep sigh and heaved its breast. (19)

When Manfred is "unable to keep his eyes from the picture, which began to move," the princess escapes (fig. 4.1). As the portrait prevents the continuation of his descendants' descent, Manfred complains: "Why dost thou too conspire

Figure 4.1. The Ghost Scene from *The Castle of Otranto*, by Susanna Duncombe (1725–1812). Pencil, pen, and ink wash on paper support, 187 × 110 mm. © Tate, London 2011.

against thy wretched descendant?" (20). When the portrait subsequently "quit[s] its panel, and descend[s] on the floor with a grave and melancholy air" (20), it is a tacit admission that it does not belong in the ancestral gallery. Beckoning Manfred to follow, the portrait prefigures his descendant's abdication. Yet when Manfred attempts to follow, "the door was clapped to with violence by an invisible hand" (20–1), an inability symbolizing his lineal failure.

The animated portrait in *Otranto* has been widely discussed, most incisively by Jerrold E. Hogle. Hogle, following Baudrillard,[1] reads the relationship of ghosts and portraits in *The Castle of Otranto* as increasing "the distance between subject and image" (31). Yet from another angle of view, the theories of immanence governing portraiture tighten them, figuring subject and image, sign and substance as inhering in each other. Since imaging and inherence *themselves* inhere in each other, when the portrait images the body, which images the soul, such imaging attests to their inherence. The ghost, therefore, is always already in the portrait.

The animated portrait of Manfred's grandfather, however, undermines the imaged inherence of the usurping line. In manifesting simultaneously as ghost and portrait, the usurper loses his identity as origin, coming last in the chain of imaged identities as well as first, circling solipsistically, and subsequently leaving the gallery and property, rather than standing firm as fixed lineal origin for portrait and progeny. The animated portrait makes the spirit of Manfred's grandfather subject and subsequent to the chain of representational images he has generated, meaning that both he and his heirs lack lineal identity and authority.

By contrast, the ghost of the murdered and usurped Prince Alfonso inflates, animates, fragments, and manipulates his armored funerary statue, a symbol of militant revenge unconstrained by frame, gallery, or castle. The statue appears in parts throughout the novel (a helmet, a giant hand and sword, an armored leg and foot); at the end, "the form of Alfonso, dilated to an immense magnitude, appear[s] in the center of the ruins" (195), having torn down the castle.[2] But in spite of his power, the ghost too is subject to picture identification: his identification *as* "the form of Alfonso" is dependent on resemblance to his portraits, for no one living has seen Alfonso in the flesh. Here, too, the ghost is always already in the portrait.

In contrast to Hogle's argument, interpenetrating resemblances among ancestors, portraits, and progeny in *Otranto* seek to tie sign and substance *more* tightly together in order to undo past usurpation and prevent future usurpation. In the legitimate representational chain of soul → body → portrait, the body is missing, creating fearful hauntings and supernatural disturbances. But resemblance to another portrait of Alfonso—his picture in the family gallery—identi-

fies Theodore, an apparent peasant, as his lost heir, restoring a living body to the line of descent. When, at the end, "the form of Alfonso" makes an authoritative picture identification of the heir—"Behold in Theodore the true heir of Alfonso!" (195)—this is possible only because both Theodore and "the form of Alfonso" have been identified by resemblance to Alfonso's portraits. Here resemblances among imaged identities exceed linear and lineal ones, which have proved too weak to sustain the line in the past; now they become reciprocal and, as halls of mirrors do, they multiply. The heir resembles the portrait; the portrait resembles the ancestor; the heir resembles the ancestor; the portrait identifies the ghost; the ghost identifies the heir; the portrait identifies the heir; the heir identifies the portrait as a true resemblance of the ancestor; the ghost identifies the portrait as a true representation of aristocratic origin and essence. These interpenetrating resemblances seek to reinforce aristocratic imaged identity against future usurpation.

However, such interpenetrating resemblances diminish even as they work to shore up the authority of hierarchical, narrow, lineal lines by extending them. Additionally, in spite of the size, terror, and violence of Alfonso's portraits, Theodore's power to rule at the end of *The Castle of Otranto* depends as much on public consent to his picture identification in the social realm as on supernatural resemblances and ghostly proclamations. Long before the climactic apocalypse and Alfonso's authoritative identification of Theodore as heir, occupants of the castle have observed Theodore's resemblance to Alfonso's portrait: "'Bless me,' said Matilda, 'did not you observe his extreme resemblance to the portrait of Alfonso in the gallery? I took notice of it to Bianca even before I saw him in armor; but with the helmet on, he is the very image of that picture'" (146).[3]

When Theodore identifies the resemblance between the helmet that killed Manfred's heir and the helmet on Alfonso's funerary statue, he draws public attention to his own resemblance to Alfonso's painted portrait in the gallery. Social, embodied, and artifactual resemblances (the two portraits also resemble each other) gather supernatural and psychological force when Theodore's resemblance to the portrait causes him to be mistaken for the ghost of Alfonso. This mistaken identity gestures more profoundly to the inherence of imaged identities among souls, bodies, and portraits, and among ancestors, portraits, and progeny, reinforced when Bianca drops the word "picture" from her identification, declaring Theodore "the very image of the good Alfonso" rather than of his portrait (146).

Interpenetrating resemblances in the legitimate chain of imaged identities both reveal to Manfred his lack of legitimate social identity and destabilize his

subjective identity: "Theodore or a phantom, he has unhinged the soul of Manfred" (136). Manfred declares that he does not fear "living man," only "beings from another world" (140). He equally fears picture identification: he is more "troubled with the resemblance of Theodore to Alfonso's picture" than with a possible alliance between the Roman Catholic Church and a rival prince (167). As Manfred is threatened by the image of Alfonso, manifested trebly in his ghost (soul), portraits, and heir, interpenetrating resemblances in the legitimate line unhinge Manfred's soul from his own chains of imaged identity.

Concomitantly, Theodore's legitimacy does not lie solely in resemblance to ancestral ghosts and portraits; it lies also in the physiognomical resemblance of Alfonso's portrait to his soul and character, which Theodore shares through resemblance. Before she meets Theodore, Manfred's daughter has produced a physiognomical picture identification of Alfonso's portrait:

> "Do not speak lightly of that picture," interrupted Matilda sighing; "I know the adoration with which I look at that picture is uncommon—but I am not in love with a colored panel. The character of that virtuous prince, the veneration with which my mother has inspired me for his memory, the orisons which, I know not why, she has enjoined me to pour forth at his tomb, all have concurred to persuade me that somehow or other my destiny is linked with something relating to him." (50)

When Matilda subsequently identifies Theodore's resemblance to the portrait ("is not that youth the exact resemblance of Alfonso's picture in the gallery?" [78]), she establishes his resemblance to "Alfonso *the Good*."[4]

Theodore's moral picture identification attests to the pressures of nonaristocratic ideologies upon aristocratic ones in 1764. Changing notions of virtue and middle-class critiques of ruptures between divine right and regal virtue had been at the heart of debates leading to the English Civil War and continued to be raised in the press, most famously by Daniel Defoe, whose *Jure Divino* (1706) was cited regularly between 1764 and 1835. Defoe observes that many kings have been usurpers:

> If all kings have [divine right], then the usurper, who murders the right heir, has it; and Crookback Richard had it and was king *jure divino*; and what was Henry VII, then? To take up arms against a rightful, lawful prince, who had his power immediately from the Most High and was accountable to none but him? If usurpers have not this divine right, where then will you find it? And what nation has a prince whose line did not begin at some period of usurpation or in the injury of the right of another or, in short, by some unjust succession? (vii)

In Defoe's account, divine right has often been gained by legal and moral wrong. *The Castle of Otranto* is acutely aware of this; Manfred bears many resemblances to Henry VIII, whose father had usurped the throne (see Wein 54–5).[5] *The Castle of Otranto* uses picture identification both to reestablish legitimate lineal rights and to counter charges of wrongdoing associated with changes in power, identifying Theodore as virtuous and displacing violence onto ancestral portraits, ghosts, and the past. Theodore blends aristocratic with bourgeois virtues. Manifesting aristocratic virtues of valor, chivalry, and gallantry, he more prominently displays middle-class morals of veracity, sincerity, resignation, piety, forgiveness, conscience, chastity, modesty, frankness, warmth, and zeal, eschewing the aristocratic virtues of mastery and conquest. With one exception, all of the novel's violence derives from portraits and ghosts rather than progeny. While "[t]he blood of Alfonso crie[s] to heaven for vengeance" (188) and sheds the blood of usurpers, Theodore does not lift a finger against Manfred. He waits pacifistically and patiently for heaven to restore his usurped rights and, in spite of the novel's official Roman Catholicism, peppers his speech with eighteenth-century Protestant rhetoric. His sole act of violence is in defense of a woman. Even then it is washed by tears of sentiment: "[H]e could not behold the victory he had gained without emotions of pity and generosity . . . [and] shedding tears over his victim" (128). For all the novel's protestations of metaphorical inherence between progeny and portraits, picture identification enables a metonymic displacement of violence and vengeance from progeny to portraits. Moreover, the male in the lineal chain between Alfonso and Theodore, Theodore's father and Alfonso's son-in-law, is himself a usurped count who has turned from politics to religion and chosen piety over revenge.

Similar aristocratic concessions to middle-class values can be found in contemporaneous historical representations, such as the tablet at Cartmell Priory, Lower Holker, Lancashire, erected to the memory of "William Lowther of Holker [d. 1756], Bar.t the Last of his Family in the Male Line, Who how Respectable sover for the Antiquity of it, was more so for the Excellency of his Virtues." The tablet raises "the Excellency of his Virtues" above His Excellency's lineal value. *The Castle of Otranto*'s count-turned-friar moralizes similarly: "What is blood! what is nobility! We are all reptiles, miserable, sinful creatures. It is piety alone that can distinguish us from the dust whence we sprung and whither we must return" (85). The Lowther inscription may cede higher value to moral character *because* of lineal failure; this concession would both defend it from middle-class accusations that moral degeneracy had led to the end of a noble line and co-opt bourgeois assertions that the highest social value derives from individual moral-

ity rather than family lineage. Even so, the tablet marks the failure of lineage to perpetuate social power. Walpole himself inherited his position as the Earl of Orford when his nephew died unmarried at the age of sixty-one; when Walpole died childless in 1797, the title became extinct.

MOTHERS AND SONS: REBIRTHING PATRIARCHY

> [I]f the physiognomonical germ exist in the father, how can it sometimes resemble the mother?
>
> —Johann Caspar Lavater, *Physiognomy* (1826, 151)

> People are as often like their mothers as their fathers.
>
> —Theresa Lewis, *Dacre* (1834, 2.68)

Walpole's fictional lineage, however, continues; when Theodore becomes Prince of Otranto, he represents a new kind of patriarch, blending aristocratic and non-aristocratic values. The modern bourgeois values that Theodore incorporates into his medieval aristocratic identity derive implicitly from his matriarchal line of descent.[6] As much as Theodore resembles his grandfather, his descent from Alfonso is matrilineal rather than patrilineal; his mother was Alfonso's only daughter.[7] Although Alfonso's wife is named, his daughter is not, and her personal narrative, offered by her husband, is waved out of the novel by Manfred ("It needs not" [199]). She has no portrait in the gallery; her face and name, the chief ingredients of picture identification, have been erased. Theodore's "exact" resemblance to Alfonso further drops her from the chain of imaged identity. This is entirely in keeping with—in fact, emblematic of—aristocratic lineages, which follow patriarchal rather than matriarchal lines.

Theodore's virtue also derives from the church, in which his father serves as friar. When Manfred retires to a monastery with his wife, he too submits to mother church and the mother of his children: "[M]y heart at last is open to thy devout admonitions" (196). However, Manfred and Theodore's father enter the church only after they have been defeated by superior *patriarchal* powers. Nor does entering the church free Manfred's wife from patriarchy. "It is not ours to make election for ourselves: heaven, our fathers, and our husbands must decide for us" (152), declares Hippolyta, understanding that she will remain subject to priestly fathers.

Subsequent Gothic fiction, however, draws on Roman Catholic theology and iconology to empower matriarchal against patriarchal identities, even though

most Gothic authors, including Walpole, officially disavow Roman Catholicism's theology and institutions. Charles Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820) voices the Jewish view condemning "the abominable idolatries of those who not only adore the son of the carpenter, but even impiously compel you to fall down before the image of the woman, his mother, and adore her by the blasphemous name of Mother of God" (247). Defining God solely as patriarch, it ties the denial of images to the denial of God as family: "the God of your fathers, the God of ages, the eternal God of heaven and earth, without son or mother, without child or descendant" (247). Protestantism stands between Judaic and Roman Catholic theology, worshiping Christ as God's son, but rejecting Mariology. Like aristocratic patriarchy, it too drops the matriarch from the divine line, leaving only Father and Son.

However, Roman Catholicism had historically checked unbridled regal and aristocratic power, and Gothic fiction draws on it to delimit such power. The church serves as sanctuary for wronged, virtuous aristocrats, such as Theodore's father, and as confessional and prison for corrupt aristocrats, such as Manfred. More central to my discussion, just as Roman Catholic icons disperse power from God the Father to other identities, matriarchal portraits in Gothic fiction disperse symbolic and social power among nonpatriarchal identities. Pseudo-religious secular iconographies representing dead mothers as saints and angels position them with heavenly authority over earthly fathers, inspiring worship, terrorizing guilty patriarchs, and empowering progeny against patriarchs. Hovering on the brink of idolatry and blasphemy only intensifies the power of such representations.

Crucially for attacks on patriarchal identities, Mariology offers a means of symbolically bypassing and erasing the earthly father in procreation and the formation of identity. Gothic fiction secularizes Mariology to symbolically erase patriarchs from genealogies and rebirth sons in the images of mothers aligned with bourgeois ideologies. As Christ made in the image of God is problematized by Christ made in the image of Mary, so too sons being made in the images of mothers problematizes their patriarchal identities. Sons may take the patriarchal name, but as the "the exact resemblance" or "the very picture" of mothers, they inhabit a matriarchal *imago dei*. Theologians in the period wrestle with assertions that Christ was both the perfect image of God and the perfect image of Mary: "Christ, the Son is the Father's picture . . . being clothed with the very same essential perfections, the same individual attributes and excellencies." As the picture of God the Father, he claims "personal equality in power and glory and essential oneness and sameness in substance with the Father," and "there is no

seeing of him without seeing the Father" (Erskine, 1821, 4.394). However, other critics address the early theological consensus "that the face of Mary bore a strong resemblance to that of our Savior" ("Art in the Early Christian Ages," 1847, 456). Disraeli discusses Raynaud's opinion that "the nose of the Virgin Mary was long and aquiline, the mark of goodness and dignity and, as Jesus *perfectly resembled* his mother, he infers that he must have had such a nose" (1824, 1.341–2, emphasis added). Christ's perfect resemblance to Mary is based on the absence of any human father to resemble, but it raises questions regarding how he can resemble an invisible God.

Complicating and informing theological discourses, eighteenth-century scientists link contesting theories of reproduction to class politics. Preformationists maintain that God created all beings as fully formed seeds within the first of each species; epigenesists understand reproduction as a creative process in which male and female "juices" animate matter. Preformation supports aristocratic ideology: "By denying the possibility of substantive change, preformation suggested that a political and social structure founded upon distinctions of birth paralleled nature's hierarchical order of creation" (Reill 59). By contrast, epigenesis, with its "creative leaps" and justifications of "chaos, turmoil, revolution, and popular dissent," supports the fomenting, rising underclasses (Reill 57–8).

As preformationists and epigenesists divide along class lines, preformationists divide internally along gender lines: "At first preformation was ovist"; the subsequent discovery of spermatozoa satisfied "those who saw the male as the nobler, more active of the species"; however, "ovism was preferable to orthodox religious thinkers because it accounted more easily for the virgin birth" (Reill 58). Maternal and paternal resemblances are invoked to support both arguments, although some attribute the former to nurture (uterine nourishment) rather than nature (Darwin 391).[8] Others more radically propose the female reproductive organs as "the seat of the soul" and the "origin of the mind," challenging both aristocratic and bourgeois concepts of the patriarchal *imago dei*:

> Dr. Pring of Bath, in his recent work on the "intellectual and moral relations," has shown a wonderful "alacrity at sinking" by precipitating the seat of the soul and "origin of the mind" . . . down to that infernal region, the pelvis, and locating it . . . in the ovarium! . . . If the ovum be a "miniature representation" of the properties, &c. of the parent, it follows that we are all the veritable descendants of mother Eve *alone*, and consequently inheritors of propensities—Adam having no ovaria. (James Johnson, 1830, 462, emphasis in original)

Pring's identification of intellect and morality with the soul implicates it profoundly in middle-class ideologies; his location of both in the ovarium radically feminizes them.

Andrew Picken's Gothic *Traditionary Stories* (1833) divides body and mind along gender lines: "[I]t is the *physical* qualities of the *male parent*, whether good or bad, that are chiefly formed in the offspring and the *mental* endowments of *the mother*" (2.286, emphasis in original). Maternal morality and intellect are often set against patriarchal "animal" vice in nonfiction as well as fiction texts. George Combe observes a family in which

> the mother possesses an excellent development of the moral and intellectual organs, while, in the father, the animal organs predominate in great excess. She has been the unhappy victim of ceaseless misfortune, originating from the misconduct of her husband.

He divides their children according to matriarchal and patriarchal resemblance:

> Some of her children have inherited the father's brain and some the mother's and, of the sons whose heads resembled the father's, several have died through mere debauchery and profligacy under thirty years of age, whereas those who resemble the mother are alive and little contaminated, even amidst all the disadvantages of evil example. (179)

Such accounts pit the face against the phallus in social formation. Inheritance manifests in faces rather than sexual organs; moral sons do not inherit their mother's gender, but they do inherit her physiognomy and moral character *against* their father's.

As patriarchal resemblances multiply in *Otranto* to shore up aristocratic power, matriarchal resemblances multiply in other Gothic fiction to undermine it. In Francis Lathom's *Italian Mysteries* (1820), "Your mother . . . offers you only one gift at her hands, the resemblance of her who gave you birth. Wear it next your heart; and oh! may that heart sometimes heave a sigh of tenderness for her who gave its vital powers the spark of life!" (151). Maternal "resemblance" resonates doubly; the mother refers to her portrait, but she "who gave you birth" has also given him her resemblance, inherent in rather than worn on his body. Because miniature portraits generally decapitate bodies, the emphasis here is on facial resemblance. More audaciously, the mother claims to be the godlike, animating power in his creation; she now instructs the heart that she sparked with life to "heave" with feminized bourgeois sentiment over her portrait. Con-

joining creativity and conventionality, body and artifact, words and images, and exteriority and interiority, the mother seeks to make the son in her subjective and ideological as well as facial image.

Here and elsewhere, matriarchal picture identifications of sons work to conform aristocratic patriarchs to bourgeois types. Whereas *The Castle of Otranto*'s Theodore is identified by a patriarchal portrait, nearly half a century later, *The Confessional of Valombre*'s Theodore is identified by a matriarchal one:

> One form, one countenance the most attracted his attention; it was the beauteous semblance of a matron, on whose white bosom a sleeping boy reclined. The smile of maternal exultation glowed upon the canvas, as her snowy hand seemed in the act of parting the golden ringlets on the forehead of the child.
>
> "Ah!" exclaimed Theodore, as he gazed upon the picture, "how nature speaks in every perfect feature! . . . blessed cherub! rich in a mother's love." (Stanhope, 1812, 2.250–1)

The painting represents the infant Theodore with his mother, omitting his father, in the tradition of Madonna and child portraiture. The narrator's picture identification apotheosizes "maternal exultation" over paternal blood; the child is "rich in mother's love" rather than a father's property. There is no supernatural, patriarchal proclamation of this Theodore's identity; instead, Nature "speaks" of his matriarchal inheritance through his mother's face. The maternal *imago dei* manifested in progeny and portraits is produced by Mother Nature rather than Father God: "Nature stamped the smile of matchless sweetness, marking the calm of virtue and the soul of honor" (*Valombre* 3.44–5). Lacking known parents, the orphan Theodore is identified as "the child of nature and of feeling" (3.179). *Valombre* renders nature synonymous with sentiment, sympathy, sensibility, energy, impulse, soul, and innocence: "[I]t was sympathy—it was nature" (1.113); "the sensibility of nature" (3.254); "the energies of nature, the impulsive feeling of soul" (1.115); "Nature . . . needs no control, because her attributes are innocent" (1.202). These conventional, Romantic, bourgeois qualities are rendered synonymous with human nature, personified by Theodore: "Theodore was human nature" (3.120).

Like many other novels in the period, *Valombre* represents bourgeois family values as springing instinctively and directly from a Romantic nature. Cloistered since infancy, Theodore nevertheless has an enraptured bourgeois vision of marriage and family life:

> I become a husband!—I become a father! God of nature! . . . I alleviate, soften, soothe the cares of affection! I catch the lisping accents of tender infancy! I breathe the proud, the grateful prayer of praise for growing virtues, for budding promises, for parental transports! I, when the winter of age steals o'er my being, freezing my youthful ardor, I retrace that ardor, re-acted, re-existing in [my children!] (1.55–6)

Asked by a baffled cleric whence he gleaned this vision, with "his cheek glowing and his whole soul irradiating his features," he replies: "Nature, father, conveys this blissful prospect—Nature conveys the eyes beyond the vale of present being" (1.56). Nature and Romantic imagination convey a future in which sentimental, middle-class patriarchy prevails. Theodore's vision, which invokes the "God of nature" rather than the God of the church, does not simply or even primarily express sexual desire: its desire is political, setting a romanticized, sentimental, middle-class paternalism against both aristocratic and ecclesiastical patriarchies. Theodore grounds his visionary paternity in nurture rather than nature; his paternal pride lies in the virtues, not the lineage, of his children; he dreams of infusing them with his sentiments rather than his blood.

Theodore's position as the infant in the Madonna-child portrait discussed above subsequently identifies his aristocratic birth through matriarchal lineage, which rebirths him symbolically as a new kind of patriarch identified with feminine, bourgeois concepts of virtue. As the portrait makes his mother a secular Madonna, the narrative makes Theodore a social savior. Saved like the infant Jesus from patriarchal slaughter, he rescues his sister and his future bride from the rapacious, aristocratic patriarch who has murdered his parents and tried to kill him: "I came to save you—I came to save Louisine" (3.259); "God of heaven! Yes, lady—Juliette—I will save thee or perish!" (3.13). In a context of patriarchal reform, he also tries to save the bandit who falsely claims to be his father, telling him that, "as a true disciple of this great, this first duty, I returned to the castle, but to convert, but to save" (4.262).

When at the end of the novel Theodore takes the name and title of the patriarchal villain, matriarchal picture identification has allowed him to redefine them and aristocratic patriarchy. Rejecting the usual Gothic endings ("Thinking it immaterial to state the tedious process of judicatory proceedings, the evidence of Du Plessis, the penitent Lambelle, &c. &c. . . . the confessions of Montauban, and the wretched Ermissende" [4.247]), the novel focuses instead on Theodore's "visit to the unconsecrated grave of a murdered mother, embalmed in the tears of filial tenderness" (4.251). Spilled tears are set against aristocratic blood and bloodshed, embalming the sentiment they express as well as the maternal grave.

Such uses of maternal sentiment in class wars are not limited to Gothic fiction. William Cowper's poem, "On the Receipt of My Mother's Picture out of Norfolk" (1798), widely cited, often reprinted, and used to teach children grammar, invokes a maternal portrait as a meditative springboard from which to vaunt identities based in religion over those based in rank:

> My boast is not that I deduce my birth
> From loins enthroned and rulers of the earth;
> But higher far my proud pretensions rise—
> The son of parents passed into the skies. (466)

Parents in heaven rise higher than rulers on earth. Significantly, although both parents are "passed into the skies," the poem addresses only the mother's portrait.

The cultural value of maternal portraits is not limited to the bourgeoisie. It is a last bastion of sentimentality allowed even the world-weary Lord Byron ("his mother's picture was the only thing he regretted" [*Life of Byron*, 1825, 1.345]) and the militant Lord Edward Fitzgerald ("I have my dearest mother's picture now before me: how obliged to you I am for it you cannot conceive. How happy should I be to see her!" [Thomas Moore, 1831, 1.11]).

Yet, for all their sentimentality and innocence, maternal picture identification and Mother Nature are formidable social forces. Armstrong has shown the role of desire in reorganizing social relations, arguing that "narratives which seemed to be concerned solely with matters of courtship and marriage . . . contest the reigning notion of kinship relations that attached most power and privilege to certain family lines" (*Desire and Domestic Fiction* 5). *Valombre* touts "love" as "the boasted prerogative of nature," "the master-passion, which subdues man's lordly mind" (1.236). Here Mother Nature asserts herself in a masculine, aristocratic rhetoric of prerogative, mastery, and subjugation set against the pragmatism of aristocratic marriages and "lordly" masculine reason. Taking on traditionally masculine functions, simultaneously rebelling against authority and declaring her omnipotence, Nature is positively autocratic: "Nature, spurning the innovation of authority, proclaims the omnipotence of passion and stamps her laws irreversible!" (3.137). Her "irreversible laws" are joined by principles impervious to social forces: "I have seen the world in its busy maze . . . but it cannot destroy the principles of nature" (2.165).

Nature reconstructs an aristocratic patriarch made in "the image of his Creator" as "a slave," overriding the *imago dei* at the core of aristocratic identities:

> Nature, perhaps in sport, sometimes violates her own stamp of perfection by affixing to man, the image of his Creator, the blackening dye of a corrupt heart. She had neither gifted [the usurping duke] with external charms or internal qualification, for his features, the direct index to his mind, bespoke him proud, morose, unbending, a slave to his passions. (2.52–3)

Paradoxically, although Nature makes him, "Nature was dead within him, for no relenting softness pleaded a brother's cause; he pined to possess the title, the dignity of his ancestors" (4.146). Here *desiring* the aspects of aristocratic identity inaccessible to the middle ranks—the title of duke and aristocratic lineage—is deemed antithetical to Nature. By contrast, bourgeois class values displace desire at the end of the novel. For all the rhetoric lauding romantic passion and desire, at the culmination of their courtship Theodore and Juliette pontificate rather than procreate, reproducing bourgeois values rather than progeny: "[O]f what avail had been the boasted pride of birth . . . the lasting stamp of eternal devotion, virtue, generosity is the true essence of greatness—is the noblest distinction of man. Honors are hereditary, but honor, free, unconfined, harbors in obscurity and stamps a peasant oft superior to a prince" (4.260). And yet birth, rank, and wealth do matter: this peasant turns out to be an aristocrat by birth; he marries a marquis's daughter and inherits aristocratic property, which he "soften[s] into order" by the "chisel of improvement" (4.258). Drawing on a Romanticized Nature and a pseudo-religious, feminine iconography, matriarchal picture identification has likewise softened, ordered, and improved patriarchy in this novel; more militantly, it has pseudo-usurped aristocratic titles, property, power, and prestige and bestowed them on pseudo-middle-class identities.

Matriarchal identification challenges primogeniture as well as patriarchy. Since the biblical story of Esau and Jacob, patriarchs have championed firstborn sons and heirs, whereas matriarchs have championed the subsequent sons that patriarchy drops from the lineal chain. Subsequent aristocratic sons are aligned with the middle classes in culture as well as fiction. Granger's taxonomy of classes places peers in class 3, but "Sons of Peers, without Titles" in class 8, along with baronets and knights and "ordinary gentlemen" (x). Charlotte Turner Smith's *The Old Manor House* (1793, discussed further in chapter 5) champions a virtuous younger son identified with a middle-class matriarchal lineage over an elder son rendered vicious through aspiration to an aristocratic patriarchal inheritance. Smith, however, both joins and departs from Judaic critiques of imaging God in Roman Catholic icons, deeming them *anti*family:

> It may be urged that many of the persons who were formerly to be seen from morning till night in the churches of Roman Catholic countries prostrate before the image of a favorite saint . . . lost to the world and absorbed in penitence and prayer, were guilty of neglecting their families and of a sinful waste of the time which would have clothed and fed them. (*Marchmont*, 1796, 4.63)

Other authors, however, align Catholic iconology with bourgeois family values. Born Edward Ball, the author of *The Black Robber* created a pen name combining matriarchal and patriarchal names—Fitzball, as he explains in his autobiography: "I adopted, before that of my father, the Norman name of my *mother*" (*Life* 1.225, emphasis in original). The second son of a prosperous gentleman farmer and a woman of fortune, Fitzball had witnessed the family's fortunes decline through his father's gambling: "Misfortune became my inheritance. . . . Ruin came; my father died . . . and the estates of my mother, which she patiently resigned to him, one after the other [were] alike sold and lost" (*Life* 1.3). Fitzball managed the family estates for a time, but when his elder brother returned from sea and became "master" of the estates, he felt himself reduced to a "slave" (1.28). Family decline had meant that the elder brother was better situated professionally, educationally, and socially: "In every respect he had been better cared for than myself" (1.28); "how like the envious brother in the Prodigal Son I became [of] . . . [h]is dress, his coat trimmed with gold lace. . . . There was a courtesy, too, bestowed upon my brother, a deference which I more begrudged him than the fatted calf" (1.27).

The Black Robber Gothicizes and fictionalizes Fitzball's autobiographical protest against patriarchal prerogatives, drawing on a maternal iconography of sainted, angel mothers to validate a second son. Incongruously, it does so in an otherwise intensely anti-Catholic context. In contrast to *The Castle of Otranto*, the church offers no moral refuge in *The Black Robber* but joins "the terrors of monkish mandates" to "the injustice of paternal tyranny" (1.11). Complicit with primogeniture, the church serves as repository for subsequent sons and surplus daughters. Although the Black Robber admits, "I adopted a life for which the justly offended laws of my country demand retribution," he qualifies, "never . . . shall it be said that I became a violator of domestic happiness—a desolator of the hospitable hearth . . . the cause of connubial woe" (3.38). Yet even though he upholds bourgeois domesticity, his outlaw life taints his son. He therefore sends him to be raised by peasants (Gothic shorthand for a virtuous upbringing). However, this addresses only the boy's nurture, not his nature. The Black Robber therefore identifies his son, Valentine, through matriarchal lineage as "her son" (3.68), "Julia's son" rather than his son (1.171). Valentine's sanctifying maternal inherence

is confirmed by imaging: he is "the resemblance of his Julia" (2.301). When the narrator too nominates Valentine "the only child of the sainted Julia" (3.183), the hero's sanctifying matriarchal identification becomes omniscient.

The sainted mother ushers in and presides over a new father-son relationship, a sentimental and sacrificial one that stands in diametric contrast to the Black Robber's relationship with his aristocratic father. The father's "tears mingled with those of his son, while the sainted spirit of Julia, attired in its robe of light, looked benignantly from the mansions of eternal day and sanctified with celestial and approving smiles their mutual throbs of affection" (2.424–5). In contrast to his ambitious, tyrannical, and negligent father, the Black Robber "was content to resign every earthly consideration for the weal of his son—Julia's son" (2.302). The em-dash here draws a horizontal tie akin to those linking spouses in genealogies, inscribing their equality in the boy's heritage; in the temporal progression of the sentence, however, it signifies a displacement, passing the son from father to mother, shifting him from patriarchal to matriarchal identification. Although no portraits mediate this identification, the woman whom Valentine marries is identified as aristocratic through her father's matriarchal picture identification:

> "That picture! that picture!" ejaculated Evlin.
>
> " 'Tis the likeness of my mother!" exclaimed Zelinda.
>
> "I also wear that resemblance!" cried he, snatching from his bosom a painting set in brilliants.

In addition to identifying his matriarchal line, the picture identifies and restores the son to his mother: " 'It is, it is my child,' sobbed [Zelinda], 'this picture—these looks confess it—come to thy mother's heart; we will not part again' " (1.228–9). The matriarchal identification ushers in a patriarchal inheritance inaccessible through his patriarchal line, for the boy's father was disinherited for misconduct. The son, sanitized by matriarchal picture identification, now "hasten[s] to take possession of . . . extensive domains" (1.230). Once again, matriarchal picture identification has reformed aristocratic patriarchy, remaking it in the image of bourgeois values, which for all their sentimental bluster, too hasten "to take possession of extensive domains."

MOTHERS, DAUGHTERS, AND MINIATURES: RESISTING AND REFORMING PATRIARCHY

> "Remember, he is thy father still!"
>
> "But you are my mother too," said Matilda fervently, "and you are virtuous, you are guiltless!—Oh! must not I, must not I complain?"
>
> —Horace Walpole, *The Castle of Otranto* (1764, 150–1)

More often than Gothic sons and much earlier in the Gothic tradition than they, Gothic daughters are identified with and by matriarchal portraits. As sons and portraits serve as parallel, imaged afterlives of patriarchs, daughters and portraits serve as parallel, imaged afterlives of matriarchs, reinforcing matriarchal identities and their alignment with bourgeois agendas. As interpenetrating resemblances among fathers, sons, and portraits shore up aristocratic patriarchy in *Otranto*, interpenetrating resemblances among daughters, mothers, and portraits undermine it in other Gothic texts. As sons and portraits share terminology, so do daughters and portraits. As Theodore is the "exact resemblance" of Alfonso, a daughter in Francis Lathom's *The Castle of Ollada* (1795) is "the exact resemblance of her deceased mother" (90), "the very picture of poor Rosala" (89). In Catherine Cuthbertson's *Romance of the Pyrenees* (1803), "The pale and ghastly Victoria, with every horror of mind delineated upon her speaking countenance, was in that terrible moment a faithful portrait of the dying Viola [her mother]" (4.274). Even in *Otranto*, although Manfred has Hippolita's greater love (he "is dearer to me even than my children" [15]), her core identification is with her daughter: "Life of my soul," she cries, "I lived but in her and will expire with her" (191).

Gothic fiction is particularly vested in exploring imaged identities among mothers, daughters, and *miniature* portraits. Although Susan Stewart asserts that "there are no miniatures in nature; the miniature is a cultural product, the product of an eye performing certain operations, manipulating, and attending in certain ways to the physical world" (55), this view was not shared by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers.[9] Gesturing doubly to the diminutive size of newborns and of portraits, infant daughters are frequently figured as natural "miniatures" of mothers. In Catherine Smith's *Barozzi* (1815), a mother brings "into the world a sweet girl, a miniature resemblance of herself" (77), as does a mother in Marianne Breton's *The Wife of Fitzalice* (1817): "[S]he expired in giving birth to a female infant, the miniature resemblance of herself" (1.82). In Cuthbertson's *Santo Sebastiano*, the clause, "She left him this sweet miniature of

herself to twine her memory more closely round his neck," refers to the woman's daughter, not her portrait (1806, 3.246).

The rhetoric of daughters as miniatures of mothers extends from Gothic fiction to other discourses. A daughter in *The Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mrs. Frances Sheridan* (Lefanu 1824) is "in fact the miniature of her mother" (425). Scientists represent offspring as "perfect models of their mother in miniature" ("Additional Facts on Goitre," 1831, 383–4). Preformationists suppose "all the numerous progeny to have existed in miniature in the animal originally created" (Darwin 385), carrying miniaturization from artifacts and metaphors to bodies and nature.

Pointon argues that "miniatures are historically, quintessentially, about the oscillation between self and other" ("Brilliants" 63). For Gothic heroines, however, miniatures are more often about the oscillation between self and *m*other. When Gothic heroines wear portraits of the mothers they resemble, such portraits serve as outward-facing mirrors of inherently imaged matriarchal identities.

The maternal image unfolds from mothers to daughters and miniature portraits, creating interpenetrating resemblances that shore up female power in social contexts that disempower them. A daughter described as her mother's "sweet semblance" (Stanhope, *Striking Likenesses*, 1808, 3.8) receives her mother's portrait: " 'Look,' [he said], extending a miniature towards her, 'is not this your own image?' She started—the picture trembled in her hand—it was indeed her own image" (2.71). "Her own image" resonates multiply: her mother's image is her own; the portrait's image is her own; she owns the image by sharing in it, by recognizing it, and by possessing it as property. Such multifaceted ownership undermines patriarchal hierarchies, sequencing, ownership, and lineages.

In Sophia Lee's *The Recess* (1783–5), the first Gothic novel to picture-identify women, matriarchal lineages displace patriarchal ones, as queens rather than kings or princes vie for power.[10] In contrast to the supernatural, militant authority of patriarchal picture identification in *Otranto*, *The Recess* authorizes matriarchal picture identification through an aesthetics that unites nature, art, memory, and mirror. Their foster mother informs twin princesses: "I would describe the Queen of Scots to you, my dear children, had not nature drawn a truer picture of her than I can give. Look in the glass, Matilda, and you will see her perfect image" (1.55).[11] As in the matriarchal picture identification of sons, "nature" rather than God or father is the artist who has made a daughter in the image of her mother. Memory and mirror conjoin to produce a mimetic aesthetics that unites mental images to perceptual ones, claiming continuity between them. The perception of resemblance is constructed by the reflexive operations of memory and the reflec-

tive surfaces of mirror, which are seen to refer to *each other* mimetically, as well as to what they image, a dynamic I address further in chapter 6.

Hitherto Matilda has seen only selfsameness in the mirror; after her matriarchal picture identification in, with, and through it, the mirror henceforth functions as a reflection of self and of (m)other. Although it is conventional to read such dynamics in Lacanian terms, this is not an unconscious projective identification; it is a consciously perceived one. The process is not one of image prior to words or against words, but of image joining forces with words to produce social identification. The picture identification produces a re-cognition, which the daughter experiences simultaneously as return to origin and coming of age. Produced by an adoptive mother rather than a patriarch, the mirror shatters the daughter's identification with that maternal, nurturing foster mother, reconstructing it with a matriarchal, natural birth mother. It is this picture identification, not the Name of the Father, that ushers the daughter into the social order. Following her picture identification by both mothers, Matilda moves from the womb-like space of the recess into the political and social world.

Matilda has previously looked in the mirror to understand how others perceive her and to differentiate herself from her twin sister. Before her matriarchal reidentification, she has located her power to forge potential social alliances in her beauty: "When I looked in the glass, I did not think I should be neglected" (1.20). Now she sees that her power to form social alliances lies in resemblance to her royal mother, which testifies to kinship. Turning to the bonds of kinship rather than courtship, she uses picture identification to fix, proclaim, and circulate her matriarchal resemblance. Writing to request "alliance" and "protection" from her mother's former allies, she "enclosed my picture in little, not doubting but that would identify my birth" (2.50).

Matilda also turns to picture identification to affirm her identity in terms of moral selfsameness: "The faithful Tracey, still fearful of being imposed on, insisted on having my picture, as well as a lock of my hair, to prove to his Lord that it was indeed *myself*" (211, emphasis in original). In contrast to psychoanalytic emphases on unconscious, projective negotiations between self and (m)other, picture identification's vacillation between selfsameness and sameness with (m)other produces conscious processes of representation and social negotiation.

Since their British origins in the court of Henry VIII, miniature pictures had been exchanged among royals and courtiers to forge secret political and sexual alliances against official ones. *The Recess* fictionalizes such exchanges. In the early nineteenth century, the Prince of Wales (later George IV) had exchanged eye miniatures with the Catholic widow he married secretly against the wishes of

his family and government.[12] Bourgeois Gothic fiction co-opts such uses to set private, middle-class identities against official, ruling identities and to valorize bourgeois over aristocratic modes of affiliation. Miniatures exchanged secretly support the formation of marriage bonds that oppose aristocratic family values and diminish aristocratic power. When a heroine in *The Black Robber* tells her lover, "as a pledge of my affection, take this miniature," she commands its private viewing and forbids its public display: "But you must promise me, Valentine, that your eyes alone shall gaze upon the picture" (2.339–40). This private scopic regime vies with publicly exhibited iconographies, inaugurating a social exclusivity that vies with the exclusivity of aristocratic status—all the more so because the miniature is bestowed upon an apparently lower-born lover in resistance to union with an aristocrat.

The heyday of miniature portraits in England, 1760–1840, coincides almost exactly with the first wave of Gothic fiction; they appear in it more often than any other kind of portrait.[13] They do so because miniature portraits are ideal forms for promoting middle-class identities, ideologies, and iconographies and opposing aristocratic ones. Miniature portraits stand in diametric contrast to the gigantic funerary portrait of *Otranto*, which Clara Reeve deems more laughable than formidable (*The Old English Baron* v), and which seems to protest a threatened aristocracy too much. Although Shearer West argues that "miniature painting allowed artists to move away from the idealism of power portraiture" ("Patronage and Power" 146), it paradoxically empowers a larger-scale middle-class iconographic revolution between 1760 and 1840.

The middle classes seize on miniatures to set private identities against public ones and private family values against public family values. Because most miniatures depict only the head and shoulders of individual sitters, they are perfect forms through which to advance bourgeois individualism and concepts of social identity located in the face. Rovee reads middle-class values of realism, humbler ways of life, affection, and sympathy in miniatures (131).

The exchange of power and properties that theories of immanence and inherence confer renders persons and miniature portraits upwardly and downwardly mobile. Like the heirs they identify, miniatures in Gothic fiction are lost, hidden, stolen, given away, and destroyed; they too need to be recovered, reidentified, and repositioned. Miniature portraits enable upward mobility for nonnobles. Like other forms of portraiture, they spread from court culture to prosperous groups, all the more swiftly than other forms, because they did not require fortunes to purchase them. In the 1790s, Joshua Reynolds charged 200 guineas for a whole-length portrait and 50 guineas for a head; in the same period, George III's min-

iature portrait painter, George Engleheart, charged 8–12 guineas for a miniature (Gore, 1824, 146; Malone, 1797, 1.lxxv). In the 1810s, a whole-length portrait by Thomas Lawrence cost 600–700; in 1828, he was paid 1,500 guineas for a portrait of the Countess of Gower and child (Smyth, 1843, 90).

Additionally, as portable property, miniatures went further down the social ladder because they did not require mansions or stable homes to display them. A periodical writer attests in 1826 that "miniatures are like pocket editions of favorite authors, and possess their advantages too, for we can observe and carry them about with us upon all occasions, without ever finding them troublesome or inconvenient." In middle-class homes, "They are hoarded up, and kept in sacred privacy, like the domestic divinities of the ancients" (Amoroso, 1826, 290).

Miniature portraits both diminish aristocratic iconographies and mark diminishing aristocratic power. Often copied from full-length portraits, as copies, they subvert as well as circulate the authority of "originals" by reducing their magnitude and dislocating them from aristocratic land, property, and galleries. They also mark real aristocratic decline, in that miniature portraits were often commissioned when landed families lost property and became downwardly mobile (Pointon, "Brilliants," 55). When in Charlotte Turner Smith's *Marchmont* (1796) a downwardly mobile aristocrat sells the family portraits, "there is no likelihood that he should ever have a house large enough to hang up such a picture" (1.296).

Miniatures circulate such subversion of aristocratic authority, and, concomitantly, Didier Maleuvre perceives them to be ideologically complicit with bourgeois ascendancy: "To master the world, bourgeois consciousness first redraws it in small-scale reproduction," reducing "reality to something graspable in its totality" (136, 134). Stewart sees miniaturization "as a metaphor for the interior space and time of the bourgeois subject" (xii), representing middle-class attempts to transcend and interiorize history and nature and to code the real with fantasy. Maleuvre deems that a "miniature is an object that carries in its appearance the external vantage point from which it is observed: the detached gaze is literally inscribed in the miniature's form. It is an overbearing eye seeking epistemological mastery over its environment" (134). Yet in Gothic fiction, the miniature is also an object that undoes epistemological mastery and exerts power over gazes and gazers, as I argue below and in chapter 9.

Although Stewart considers that the "minute depiction of the object *in painting* . . . reduces the tactile . . . dimensions of the object" (48, emphasis added), the miniaturization of *portraits* amplifies their tactile dimensions and multiplies the ways in which they can be treated as objects. Placed on bodies rather than displayed on walls, they become smaller than and subject to a greater variety of

movements and manipulations of bodies. Like the persons they represent, they are kissed, cherished, appealed to, upbraided, and bathed in tears of sentiment, as chapter 9 details. By contrast, persons rarely touch large portraits and are generally forbidden to do so.

Large portraits are forbidding in other ways. Amoroso associates large portraits with exceptional achievement and honor and miniature portraits with the ordinary morality and sentimentality that are the bases of lower and middling bourgeois claims to social value:

> Portraits of a larger size may represent the renowned hero, the brave warrior, or the accomplished statesman—may bring to our view persons distinguished by their talents or their virtues . . . but miniatures are generally connected with deeper and more permanent feelings; they are often memorials of former blissful hours—they are often tokens of present affection and harbingers of future anticipated happiness. (289–90)

In such iconographies, full-length portraiture may rise higher, but miniature portraiture goes deeper. Miniatures are also deemed morally superior to full-length honorific portraits because "they are less frequently the offspring of that vain conceit and self-esteem" (290). Heroes, warriors, and statesmen may bequeath their images to posterity and the public, but miniatures arouse "more permanent feelings" that tie past, present, and future together in interiority.

Such interiority is not quite identical to Maleuvre's "masterful gaze" or Stewart's concepts of "the interior space and time of the bourgeois subject." It is not so much an individual interiority as a relational one. It does not seek to transcend history and nature so much as to construct social bonds to rework social power. Samuel Johnson could not fathom why anyone would want a portrait of himself except to bestow on intimates: "[E]very man is always present to himself, and has therefore little need of his own resemblance, nor can desire it but for the sake of those whom he loves and by whom he hopes to be remembered" (*Works* 7.158).

In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century society, miniature portraits serve as aide-mémoires to maintain social bonds amid social mobility and to promote middle-class identities and relational bonds *as* social values over and against lineal ties. As chapter 9 indicates, Gothic picture identification sets sentimental and affective bonds against lineal and blood relations to revolutionize ideas about how relationships construct social worth. Pointon documents that, from the reign of George III, women wore miniatures visibly on their bodies ("Brilliants," 58–9), but men did not, deeming such "ornamentation" feminizing. It was not solely ornamentation that produced this gendering; it was equally the

display of private affections. Here too, the bourgeoisie ally with noble women, setting private affections on public display and, concomitantly, objectifying social values. As portraits reveal hidden, lost, usurped, and stolen lineal aristocratic relations in Gothic fiction, miniature portraits render intimate social relations open secrets.

More exposing than striptease, spilling and pulled from beneath clothing, miniature portraits put interiority on display. Such interior revelations can be disempowering to women in Gothic fiction. In Catherine Cuthbertson's *Romance of the Pyrenees* (1803), pulling a miniature portrait from her pocket brings blood to a heroine's cheeks, tears from her eyes, and words from her mouth, all of which betray her hitherto hidden subjectivity: "[S]he drew the portrait from her pocket, blushing . . . [thereby] articulating her thoughts . . . large drops stole from her eyes" (2.159–60). Realizing that her display of interiority has been witnessed, she is "almost annihilated by confusion and terror . . . that some mortal man was absolutely in possession of the secret of her partiality" (2.160–1). In Elizabeth Cullen's *The Sisters of St. Gothard* (1819), one woman's display of a man produces another woman's danger from that man:

> The countess wore upon her bosom a miniature of her son; she highly prized it, as it was considered a striking likeness. A young lady sat next [to] her . . . the count was the object of her attraction.
>
> "Ah! why," she exclaimed, "has she afforded me the fatal pleasure of feasting my eyes upon that sweet and lovely countenance? . . . Divine Virtue, in hallowed precept, points out my guilt in allowing its influence to abstract my soul from the importance of the sacred and relative duties of my being." (1.181–3)

Overhearing her admiration, the scapegrace subject of the portrait attempts to seduce her. Against such potential disempowerment and social ruin, however, the heroine sets a miniature of the man's mother, to which she prays as maternal icon (2.1–2). When at the end of the novel she marries the man, her virtue intact, "One ornament, and that only . . . gave luster to her appearance—the miniature of her beloved countess rested upon her bosom" (2.85). Whereas maternal displays of sons' miniatures create danger for young women, maternal miniatures are themselves sanctifying and salutary. Reversing Madonna-child iconography, here the mother lies on the daughter's bosom. As portraiture claims the eroticized bosom for maternity, it grants the younger woman the authority of an older, higher-class, generative generation.

We have seen the pseudo-religious power accorded maternal miniatures in the construction of sons. Eleanor Sleath's *The Orphan of the Rhine* (1798) inscribes

a continuum between Roman Catholic icons of female saints and miniatures of dead mothers, granting them power to instill and preserve virtue (synonymous with social value) in daughters. What begins as a prayer to an icon of Saint Rosalie ends as a prayer to a heroine's mother, "the companion of angels":

> "Forgive me, holy Saint," resumed she, falling meekly upon her knees before a small image of Saint Rosalie, "forgive me if I have dared to murmur . . . endeavor to fortify my mind with those invaluable principles of religion which were instilled into my heart from the earliest period of my existence by my first and dearest friend . . . if she is already released from the shackles of mortality and is become the companion of angels, may she look down with compassion upon her adopted child, strengthen her weak resolves, and lead her, by secret inspiration, to that excelling and unassuming piety which dignified her character!" (315–6)

Amoroso argues that the aesthetics of miniature portraiture produces otherworldly representations of women:

> [W]hen portrayed in this style, loveliness itself beams forth more lovely, since it seems less earthly, and acquires, as it were, an ethereal aspect from the softness and delicacy of the colors, together with the fairy-like appearance which pervades it . . . those whose beauties are thus so often depicted . . . would be—*angels*! (291, emphasis in original)

Gothic fiction goes further to spiritualize the *resemblances* among mothers, daughters, and miniature portraits. When "the person of [a daughter], recall[s] the image of her beloved mother" for a monk (*The Orphan of the Rhine* 423), he sacramentalizes the resemblance by giving the girl an outward sign of his inward recognition: "Take this: it is the portrait of thy mother; wear it as an invaluable gift" (189). The resemblance is a reciprocal rather than hierarchical or linear one; when "she pressed . . . to her lips . . . the picture . . . whose saint-like countenance so finely imaged her own" (323), her mother's portrait images *her*. The miniature redoubles the resemblance; the daughter's "person" is the image of her mother; she now wears an image of her mother on her person. The artifactual resemblance carries the maternal *imago dei* from embodied and subjective domains (like memory) into the domain of objects. When the portrait's "character of beauty" is coded as "softness of expression," "animated sweetness," and "extreme sensibility of the mind" (191, 28), the chain of imaged identities extends to nonmimetic, discursive cultural values, which are rendered sacred and inherent. Such extensions of imaged identity to nonresembling ideologies are epitomized by the "chain by which the miniature was suspended," whose "jewels,

though small, being of the most valuable kind, possessed unusual brilliancy and luster" (191). These jewels bear no mimetic resemblance to the portrait but enchain the maternal *imago dei* to cultural ideologies "of the most valuable kind."

In addition to representing cultural values, maternal portraits allow daughters to proclaim their own beauty, character, and social value without vanity:

> Could the fair orphan have known, whilst she was internally bestowing praises upon the portrait, the near resemblance that it bore to herself . . . she might have accused herself of vanity as she lavished these deserved encomiums upon the insensible object of her admiration. But she was the only person who remained ignorant of her external perfections . . . (424)

As Susan Stewart attests, "[W]hat remains invisible to us becomes the primary subject of figurative art: the head and shoulders of the portrait and the bust. Because it is invisible, the face becomes gigantic with meaning and significance. . . . The face is what belongs to the other; it is unavailable to [the self]" (125). Resemblance to portraits, however, allows Gothic heroines to see that invisibility and avail themselves of that unavailability to construct their social identities.

Additionally, daughters manipulate maternal portraits to exert power over patriarchs. As Mary and the angels are positioned above mortals in Roman Catholicism, so too sainted, angel, spirit, and ghostly mothers are positioned above mortal patriarchs in Gothic fiction. The pseudo-supernatural associations of maternal portraits, conjoined with the effusive sentimentality accorded portraits of dead mothers, lead patriarchs to submit themselves to matriarchal iconography and to teach progeny to do likewise. In Cuthbertson's *Santo Sebastiano*, a father instructs and joins his daughter in worship of a maternal portrait:

> [C]lasping me with the convulsive grasp of anguish to his throbbing heart, and taking from his bosom the miniature of [my mother], [he] press[ed] it with agonized tenderness to his lips:—again, and still, still, again; then he would hold it for me kiss to give it, and bid me "look with high reverence upon it and love it beyond all things at all, except my Creator." (1.180)

Although "my Creator" raises the specter of the patriarchal *imago dei*, the father subjugates himself to the maternal icon.

Most dead Gothic mothers remain buried on earth or up in heaven; some, however, manifest as ghosts. In addition to progeny and portraits, these ghosts constitute a third form of imaged afterlife for mothers that strengthens matriarchal power. Ghosts too are made in the images of bodies—ambivalently so as

"a substance yet a shadow, in thy living likeness" (Ainsworth, 1834, 2.202). As Alfonso's ghost resembles and seems to emanate from and return to his portraits in *The Castle of Otranto*, so too, does the ghost of a murdered matriarch in Matthew Lewis's *The Castle Spectre* (1797):

> ANGELA. (*Kneeling before Evelina's portrait.*) Mother! Blessed Mother! If indeed thy spirit still lingers amidst these scenes of sorrow, look on my despair with pity! fly to my aid! . . .
>
> (*A plaintive voice sings within, accompanied by a guitar.*)
>
> "Lullaby!—Lullaby!—Hush thee, my dear,
>
> Thy father is coming and soon will be here!" . . .
>
> (*The folding doors unclose, and the Oratory is seen illuminated. In its center stands a tall female figure, her white and flowing garments spotted with blood; her veil is thrown back and discovers a pale and melancholy countenance; her eyes are lifted upwards, her arms extended towards heaven, and a large wound appears upon her bosom . . . She then turns, approaches Angela, seems to invoke a blessing upon her, points to the picture, and retires to the Oratory. The music ceases. Angela rises with a wild look and follows the Vision, extending her arms towards it.*)
>
> ANGELA. Stay, lovely spirit!—Oh! stay yet one moment!
>
> (*The Specter waves her hand, as bidding her farewell. Instantly the organ's swell is heard; a full chorus of female voices chant "Jubilate!" A blaze of light flashes through the Oratory, and the folding doors close with a loud noise.*) (4.2)

The matriarchal specter enters to the sound of a lullaby rather than to the thunder and earthquake accompanying Alfonso's ghost (194); she exits to Christian choral music. Even bleeding, she is a "lovely spirit" rather than an object of terror or horror.[14] Like the Virgin Mary, the maternal "vision" reaches "towards heaven" and blesses her daughter. By contrast, when Manfred's servants see the gigantic replica of Alfonso's funerary statue, they nominate it "Satan himself" and beg Manfred to "have the castle exorcized" (37, 40). Strikingly, in George Moore's *Grasville Abbey* (1797), even the portrait of a *virtuous* father terrorizes rather than comforts his daughter, producing nightmares and demanding revenge: "Horrid visions and ghastly figures now floated on her brain. Her father approached, covered with blood and, with an angry tone, called on her to revenge his murder" (2.81). From Alfonso in *Otranto* on, Gothic patriarchal ghosts are generally associated with violence and revenge. While both are deemed necessary to the destruction and unseating of "bad" aristocrats, maternal ghosts work to *sanctify* changes in power.

Maternal ghosts and portraits possess ideological, psychological, and super-

natural power *because* the mothers they represent, powerless against patriarchs in the social sphere, are dead and removed from that sphere. On the one hand, ghosts and portraits empower mothers by removing them from the power of the social sphere over them, positioning them over and above it; on the other, they situate mothers as insubstantial specters and inanimate objects in the social realm. Interpenetrating resemblances among mothers, daughters, and portraits, however, shore up female power, as one imaged identity compensates for what the others lack. Where ghosts are unstable and daughters changing, portraits fix the maternal *imago dei*. Where mothers are dead, portraits grant them an imaged afterlife; ghosts give mothers a supernatural afterlife, while daughters offer them an embodied and social afterlife. As incarnate resemblances of mothers, daughters restore the social and physical power evacuated by ghosts and portraits. In Matthew Lewis's "The Four Facardins" (1808), a live daughter compensates for her mother's death, fulfilling the desire aroused by her portrait through incarnating her resemblance: "I presume [that] you have no thoughts of making that piece of ivory your wife. . . . although the original of that miniature never can be yours, you will possess in Facardina her mother's exact counterpart . . . you behold in Facardina her living image" (3.112, 208). Concomitantly, where daughters lack symbolic power, their resemblance to mothers bestows it on them, giving them authority in the social domain. While mothers cannot be literal virgins and virgin daughters cannot be literal mothers, resemblance allows each to image both, an exchange exemplified when *The Orphan of the Rhine*'s second-generation virginal heroine resembles both her mother and one of Raphael's Madonnas (245).

Their possession of maternal resemblance joins their possession of maternal portraits to grant daughters power over patriarchs. In Charlotte Smith's *Montalbert* (1795), resemblance renders the daughter a "representative" of her mother, reversing conventions in which fathers acknowledge daughters: "[D]ear representative of the most beloved and most injured of women—Speak to me—Speak to and acknowledge your unhappy father!" (3.243). In Frances Burney's *Evelina* (1778), which some critics consider to be a Gothic novel (e.g., Fletcher 25), a daughter's resemblance to a deceased mother—"thou image of my long-lost Caroline" (2.166)—forces an aristocratic father to acknowledge paternity. Maternal resemblance is her sole source of authority. Evelina, legally a bastard adopted by an ordinary clergyman, lacks social, physical, economic, and legal power. Her performativity—her behavior and speech toward her aristocratic birth father—remains entirely submissive and self-abasing. Yet Evelina's passive *resemblance* to her mother becomes a violent, avenging, rapacious force: "[T]hy countenance

is a dagger to my heart!—just so thy mother looked" (2.180). But since resemblance is never identical identity, it equally empowers Evelina by rendering her *un*like her victimized mother, who died from her husband's refusal to recognize her as wife. Evelina's nonresembling resemblance to her mother allows her to emerge as embodied, social victor in contrast to her mother, who is dead, angel victim. The resemblance vindicates the mother posthumously; mother and daughter conjoin to punish and reform the patriarch: the mother constructs him as tyrannical villain; the daughter, as humble penitent. Such dynamics do not represent the power of "women" over "men" so much as the power of matriarchal *resemblance* over patriarchy.

In *Evelina*, memory produces matriarchal resemblance; other Gothic novels artifactualize it in portraits. A father in *The Orphan of the Rhine* wears the miniature portrait of his dead wife, turning to it as confessional and icon: " 'Have I not been an unnatural parent, a cruel husband? Yes,' resumed he, fixing his hollow eyes upon a small picture, which was fastened round his neck with a black ribbon, 'my Helena! My much injured Helena! I was thy murderer!' " (18).

Even where guilty patriarchs are impenitent, they are disempowered by resemblances among mothers, daughters, and portraits. Miniature portraits of mothers save heroines on the brink of forced marriages to the uncles who murdered their parents in both *The Orphan of the Rhine* and *The Confessional of Valombre*. In the former, "astonishment and terror" are "delineated on [the marchese's] countenance on the discovery of the picture" (307); the latter expands the miniature's patriarchal disempowerment:

> My mother's cherished image, torn from my neck, still trembled in [the duke's] hand, whose every feature wore the stamp of horror and amazement. "Quick, name the original of this accursed picture!" he demanded, in loud appalling accents. But when my trembling lips pronounced, "Mother," the picture dropped from his grasp; breathless, he clung to the arm of his servant and was supported from the chapel. (3.50–1)

Between 1798 and 1812, "astonishment" becomes "amazement" and "terror" metamorphoses into "horror." The Duke, deprived of breath, speech, and mobility, becomes dependent on a servant. The common noun *mother* overpowers the titled man; he is unable to maintain his grasp upon her image, which holds the power of a "talisman" or "magic charm." An article published in 1791 includes miniature portraits in the list of culturally current talismans: "The doctrine of Talismans . . . has stood its ground. . . . Mourning rings, miniature pictures, lockets, devices, armorial bearings are all on this principle" ("Talismans" 183). Asked "what claim

could stamp a value on that image," the heroine replies, "[T]hat miniature is the semblance of a sainted mother" (3.147).

The earlier novel, however, is more radical in other regards, declaring the ability of maternal miniatures to reveal the true face of patriarchy:

> The language of nature is indelibly engraven on the human countenance and, however the slave of vice and insincerity may hope to seclude it from the eagle eye of Truth, there are moments when the mask of dissimulation will drop. . . . The marchese, for the moment off his guard by his own inadvertency, betrayed a secret which the wealth of the world could not have wrested from him. (313)

The production of the maternal image leads to the unmasking of the patriarch, revealing the dishonorable character and duplicitous face attached to the noble name. Her sainted picture identification produces his criminalizing identification.

Aristocratic patriarchal titles and social status are more permanently and tangibly overthrown when matriarchal picture identification establishes both heroines as entitled to them. While patriarchal picture identification is entirely absent in *The Confessional of Valombre*, in *The Orphan of the Rhine* it is present but ineffectual. One woman gives birth to a son "who bore the name as well as the resemblance of his father, but of whom death early deprived me" (226); another loses her father's miniature; found by her enemies, it is read as a sign that she is plotting against the novel's arch patriarch (142, 170). By contrast, the matriarchal miniature given to an orphan lacking a patriarchal name: ("She was called Laurette, but no other name was added" [187]) is worn "continually in her bosom, carefully conceal[ed] from observation . . . secretly cherish[ed] . . . as an invaluable relic" (231). Here, as in *Evelina*, when women lose their patriarchal names, matriarchal resemblances restore them. In *The Orphan of the Rhine*, the maternal miniature produces a picture identification of the heroine's birthright from the lips of the usurping patriarch: he "declared that it was the Contessa della Caro, but denied that it was her mother with a degree of vehemence which tended rather to frighten than convince" (310). Resemblances among mother, daughter, and portrait, as well as between two maternal portraits, however, counter patriarchal words and affirm the heroine's right to possess his property: "That it was really the portrait of her mother was beyond a doubt. The resemblance that it bore to herself she was perfectly aware of"; indeed, it was "too striking to escape the penetration of the most transient observer" (275).

This Gothic tale dramatizes what happens to matriarchal names under patriarchy: patriarchal names swallow them up in marriage. Facial resemblances, however, bear witness to the matriarchal affiliations that patriarchal names have

overwritten. Facial resemblances militate against nominal differences; they mark the return of the matriarchy that patriarchy has repressed. Against nominal erasures, virtuous Gothic fathers produce daughters as picture identifications of mothers, naming them after mothers: "Georgina blessed me by giving birth to a daughter, the miniature resemblance of her own loved person, to whom I gave her mother's name" (Lathom, *Human Beings*, 1807, 3.139). Bearing the names of mothers as maternal portraits do, daughters become picture identifications of mothers and are in turn picture-identified by maternal portraits.

In *The Orphan of the Rhine*, Laurette produces her *own* picture identification, joining passive physical resemblance to her mother's portraits to active mental constructions of resemblances between miniature and full-length portraits of her mother:

> As she examined the features of the portrait, rendered infinitely more touching by the sweet pensive cast of the countenance, she thought she had somewhat seen a painting that strongly characterized it and, as the castle contained all that had ever fallen under her observation, she was resolved to regard them more attentively and, if possible, to trace the resemblance. (190)

Turning empiricist and detective, Laurette relocates the full-length portrait in the castle gallery that "strikingly resembled the miniature that she wore in her bosom" (423). Tracing their resemblances, she produces picture identification in the same way that art historians do—by matching picture to picture. The portable, personal property of the miniature matched to the large portrait in the castle allows her to lay claim to real property, just as portable property allowed wealthy men like Timson and Thompson to occupy aristocratic seats (see chapter 2). Laurette subsequently produces another picture identification in the same way that artists do: "[S]he had been attempting to sketch his likeness. Memory had been too faithful to its task not to portray his exact resemblance" (355). Both modes extend the power of resemblance from her passive, unconscious possession of it to her active construction and production of it. At the end of the novel, Laurette displays the hitherto secreted miniature of her mother and tells her previously untold story. In so doing, she moves from a picture identification in which a given name is matched to an inherited face, producing her own more expansive picture identification in the form of an illustrated personal narrative (421). Gothic fiction here and elsewhere compensates for the absence of women in national print media and physiognomical galleries produced and published by bourgeois men (see chapter 2).

Matriarchal picture identification in Gothic fiction, then, draws on the dead

and the living, the animate and the inanimate, the religious and the secular, the natural and the artifactual, interiority and exteriority, aesthetics and science, the supernatural and the empirical, as well as on ruptures and contradictions in all of these binarisms. Indeed, in spite of their oppositions and contradictions, they ally in matriarchal and maternal picture identifications to attack aristocratic patriarchy on all fronts. Against the overt play of binary oppositions (e.g., matriarchy vs. patriarchy, middle vs. higher class) *and their deconstructions*, the most formidable power of matriarchal picture identification lies in its ability to project and produce *resemblances* that destabilize, undermine, and overthrow the capacity of patriarchy to establish and maintain hierarchical difference and authority through its modes and ideologies of imaging. Maternal facial resemblances militate against the patriarchal name; interpenetrating mother-daughter-portrait resemblances undo generational hierarchies, dismantle distinctions between originals and copies and between the dead and the living, and set incest taboos against rapacious patriarchal desires (see chapter 9). Against aristocratic lineal hierarchies, just as Mary, the angels, and saints mediate between Christians, Christ, and God in Roman Catholic theology, dispersing spiritual power, so too matriarchal and maternal icons mediate, reorganize, and redistribute social and symbolic power in Gothic fiction. In these and other ways developed in subsequent chapters, the middle ranks make picture identification a medium that propounds their paradoxical concept of a higher middle way, co-opting and reworking Cicero's claim that "the middle way is best" (*mediocritus optima est*, 1.36.130).

CHAPTER FIVE

Portraits, Progeny, Iconolatry, and Iconoclasm

> [T]he portraits of their high descended ancestry seemed starting from their gorgeous frames to converse, as the tale of their virtues and their valor was told in their presence.
>
> —Charles Maturin, *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1819, 457)

Gothic fiction makes much of the aristocratic tradition that renders portraits and progeny parallel imaged afterlives of forebears (see chapter 2). Progenitors are the relative "originals" of both progeny and portraits: "I examined her features; they bore a striking resemblance to the picture. But no wonder—the original was her father" (Sinclair, *The Mysterious Florentine*, 1809, 3.10). When in John Palmer Jr.'s *The Mystery of the Black Tower* (1796) a son is instructed to wear his father's miniature "within your bosom" and to "treasure it as your existence" (10), he is identified *by* his father's image, *with* his father's image, and *as* his father's image.

Chapter 2 documents that portraits and progeny are in this period fused in a shared rhetoric rendering both *portraits*. Beyond such rhetoric, children take on the attributes of portraits, while portraits are personified in Gothic fiction. A man in Elizabeth Helme's *The Farmer of Inglewood Forest* (1823) admires a portrait as "very pretty and very like," then wagers, "I'll lay you five shillings to fivepence that Fanny will show you one ten times more *natural* of William in the course of a month or two" (100, emphasis in original). Conversely, portraits are personified in Sir Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering* (1815):

> [P]ointing to his family pictures, [he] observed with a gracious smile, "Indeed these venerable gentlemen . . . were they capable of expressing themselves, would join me, sir, in thanking you for the favor you have conferred upon the house of Hazlewood by taking care and trouble, sir, and interest in behalf of the young gentleman who is to continue their name and family."
>
> Thrice bowed Glossin, and each time more profoundly than before: once in honor of the knight who stood upright before him, once in respect to the quiet personages who patiently hung upon the wainscot, and a third time in deference to the young gentleman who was to carry on the name and family. (2.89)

The threefold bow gestures to the threefold reinforcement of ancestors, portraits, and progeny in perpetuating aristocratic power. The bond is not solely rhetorical; it is also scopic and theatrical. If *The Farmer of Inglewood Forest* figures procreation as an act of portraiture at the start of life, *Guy Mannering* figures portraits and progeny as afterlives at its end. Progeny and portraits project aristocratic identities into futurity: portraits fix them; progeny perpetuate them. Progeny appear to resurrect dead forebears. A mother in Catherine Cuthbertson's *Rosabella* (1817) tells her child, "so striking is your resemblance to your father . . . in you live again 'his every look, his every feature' " (5.140). Although some texts contrast "cold and insensible" portraits to the "living images" of progeny (Matthew Lewis, "The Four Facardins," 1808, 3.112, 208), others figure portraits as repositories for souls, which animate them. Declaring, "I want my portrait painted. . . . I have no children, and I do not wish to die altogether" (480), the protagonist of Nikolai Gogol's "The Portrait" (published in Britain in 1835) believes that "if his living features were once faithfully represented, his soul would be in some sort transferred to the portrait and be saved from complete annihilation" (481).

Portraiture's dual temporal functions, in which "the past are kept in lively remembrance and the present are ensured immortality" (Disraeli 13), reinforce the dual temporality of genealogy that grounds aristocratic positions. Progeny's purpose is to continue (and, in many cases, to restore) the power and glory of lineages represented by ancestral portraits; living descendants are themselves destined to become part of these galleries, displaced and extenuated by future progeny.

However, Gothic fiction frequently challenges traditional uses of progeny and portraits, setting them in collusion *against* aristocratic lineage. Elizabeth Craven's[1] *Modern Anecdotes of the Ancient Family of the Kinkvervankotsdarsprakengotchderns* (1779) features

> a proud German Baron, who had nothing to boast of but a long line of distinguished ancestry. He was poor, but over full of the sentiment of family dignity, which was constantly nourished by a sight of his family pictures. These covered every room of his castle. They were the chief objects of his contemplation in solitude and in company the chief subject of his conversation. (Review of *Modern Anecdotes*, 1780, 368)

When informed of his daughter's desire to marry a commoner, he "pointed to the family pictures, but they could not convince her that her love was ill placed" (368). To prevent her eloping, the Baron locks her in a room with inaccessible windows. The walls are filled with family portraits, which she determines to turn "to some better account than her proud father had done." She addresses them as persons: "[A]h! grim gentry, who have been the cause of so many a tear, you shall once in my life make up to me for all the sorrow you have occasioned" (369). Duplicitously informing her father that "she could not bear to see her honored parents so neglected," she offers to clean the portraits. Delighted, he takes them down, places them in chronological order, and regales her with their histories: "He grew an inch taller at every great action he recited." Leaving her alone with the portraits, he admonishes: "May your occupation remind you of your exalted birth, and may those respectable personages teach you your duty!" When she replies, "I intend they shall be my aid and support in future" (369–70), she means that *literally*. Piling the portraits on top of each other to construct a staircase to the windows, she leaps through them down into the arms of her plebian lover. The story demarcates the power of the literal to delimit the symbolic and the potential for portraits and progeny to ally *against* the lineal identities they are meant to support.

Even more subversive than her reappropriation of lineal portraits as stairs to sully the family lineage is her incestuous, gender-bending arrangement of them. Whereas her father had arranged them lineally and historically, she piles them up "without regard to precedency or decency":

> [S]he heaped grandfathers on grandmothers, knights on old maiden aunts, he-cousins bearing armor on she-cousins bearing distaffs. In her hurry indeed, now and then, she made by turns the ladies support the gentlemen and the gentlemen the ladies: here a father's head rested on his daughter's feet; there a mother's face met a son's buskins; sharp-pointed slippers rubbed against flowing perukes; coifs and pinners were joined to long-necked spurs. In short, heads and tails were jumbled together and parts never intended by nature or good manners to meet kissed each other. Thus, one by one, the noble family, as fast as she could heap them on each

> other, made a pile which reached to the windows: *Adieu, Messieurs et Mesdames!* said she, as she sprung out of the window into her handsome Frederic's arms. (370)

If portraits and progeny in Craven's tale collude against ancestry and patriarchy, in other Gothic fiction, they compete, conflict, and clash violently with each other as rival images.

POSSESSION

Progeny vie with portraits over possession: descendants possess portraits as heirlooms; ancestors possess their own portraits as ghosts. Court cases in the period determined that family portraits belong so definitively and irrevocably to heirs that they cannot be seized to settle debts. A Chancery ruling of 1817 orders the return of family portraits thus seized: "[H]is family pictures . . . should be deemed and considered as heirlooms, and should descend and go and be held and enjoyed with his said mansion-house by the person or persons who, for the time being, should be in possession of or entitled to the same mansion houses" (Swanston 1821, 1.549). Portraits can thus become the sole possessions of destitute heirs.

Against or in collusion with sole possession, the souls of ancestors possess their own portraits in Gothic fiction. Anne Burke's *Adela Northington* (1796) illustrates:

> A small miniature picture that hung at Adela's bosom was now her sole possession. It was the last gift of her mother, and she solemnly promised never to part with it. She looked at it steadfastly; the image of the donor arose with it and she dropt a tear to her memory. "May thy spirit," said she, casting her fine eyes upward, "may thy spirit, dear departed excellence, accompany thy destitute child." (3.110)

The daughter's sole possession serves as a medium for the mother's soul.

Resemblance reinforces both types of possession. Through law and baptism, progeny inherit nominal family resemblances; through procreation and convention, they inherit physical resemblances; through law and custom, they inherit those nominal and facial family resemblances called portraits. Resemblances between progeny and portraits tighten property rights; progeny are deemed entitled to inherit property on the basis of their resemblances to family portraits, which attest to kinship. In Ann Radcliffe's *The Romance of the Forest* (1791), resemblance to a mother's portrait gives a daughter a superior claim to it, such that a hus-

Figure 5.1. Frontispiece to Horace Walpole, *The Castle of Otranto: A Gothic Story*, engraved by J. F. Bolt after J. W. Meil. Berlin: C. F. Himbourg, 1794. Plates engraved by J. F. Bolt & E. F. Henne after J. W. Meil. EC75 W1654 764cl, Houghton Library, Hyde Collection, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

band and patriarch refuses her attempt to return the portrait, declaring that "it is already with its true owner" (3.315). The daughter's resemblance to the portrait renders it her "own image" in both senses of the term.

My chapter 2 addresses long-standing conventions whereby portraits possess and extend the authority of those they resemble. Progeny doubly possess the authority of forebears when they resemble them and their portraits. Progeny's inheritance of family portraits marks the death of forebears and their movement from positions of subordination into positions of authority. Radical politicians and Gothic authors saw the revolutionary potential of such traditions: "Every succession is a revolution" (Paine 1791–2, 122).

Progeny not only inherit ancestral power but also hold power *over* ancestors by possessing their resemblances. Officially, progeny are expected to both honor and maintain the imaged identities of forebears, but they can equally reshape them. In Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle* (1751), a man identified as a "barbarous Goth" paints over the costumes and hairstyles of ancestral portraits by Van Dyck to conform them to current fashions (4.292). Progeny too abandon their function as imaged afterlives of forebears. In Jane Austen's *Persuasion* (1817),[2] "The Musgroves, like their houses, were in a state of alteration, perhaps of improvement. The father and mother were in the old English style and the young people in the new." The change is registered as a shock to ancestral portraits:

> Oh! could the originals of the portraits against the wainscot, could the gentlemen in brown velvet and the ladies in blue satin have seen what was going on, have been conscious of such an overthrow of all order and neatness! The portraits themselves seemed to be staring in astonishment. (38–9)

As later links in the chain of imaged identity, progeny can change how the images of forebears are perceived. Although portraits are intended to be static images fixing aristocratic identities for posterity, progeny frequently use such portraits for their own social mobility, as we have seen. Gothic portraits adopt a retaliatory mobility, becoming animated by the ghosts of their sitters, who battle with progeny to be their own animated afterlives and possess their own portraits. We have seen how an animated portrait in *The Castle of Otranto* undermines present progeny by functioning as its own animated afterlife, preventing the procreation of future progeny. Furthermore, leaving its frame and the ancestral gallery, it removes itself from its progeny's possession (fig. 5.1).

An ancestor in Charles Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820) likewise challenges progeny's possession of his portrait by possessing it as ghost, only this time along a *legitimate* line of descent. Melmoth the Wanderer has sold his soul

to the devil for an additional 150 years of bodily life. Melmoth, a wanderer across time and space, is also a wanderer across the lines of imaged identity. After he sells the core of his own imaged identity, his soul, to the devil, he possesses both body and portrait as "infernal spirit" rather than as divinely imaged soul. His portrait too vies with his own body as animated afterlife.

Selling one's soul to the devil raises all the usual moral and religious suspects; it further disrupts portraiture's sequences of imaged identity. Theories of immanence represent the progression from soul to body to portrait as a falling off from divine soul or Platonic ideal. The devil-possessed soul, however, refuses to fall or cede to the body as image, dematerializing the body (it passes through walls and across immense spaces in an instant) and animating the portrait with "infernal eyes" (54). As demonic lines of imaged identity break down boundaries dividing soul, body, and portrait, they collapse immanence and inherence into shifting, disintegrating, inverted identities. They equally fuse the boundaries they cross, refusing the sequences and hierarchies of divinely imaged identities. The Wanderer thus becomes his *own* usurper as well as the usurper of his heirs. Usurping his own soul, body, and portrait with a demonic spirit undoes his social and historical picture identification, identifying him antisocially and ahistorically.

The Wanderer's incursions across time and space extend to the time and space of genealogy and property. Because lineal inheritance depends on the death of forebears, a live ancestor precludes heirs from inheriting, ambivalently positioning the Wanderer as their usurper and them as his usurpers. Their inheritance includes the Wanderer's portrait, ostensibly possessed by his heirs as heirloom, but equally possessed by him as demonic spirit. The portrait thus becomes a site of contest between heirs and forebear. As the Wanderer vies with progeny by functioning as his *own* animated afterlife—as animated portrait *and* supernaturally animated body—he claims a closer, more inherent resemblance to his portrait than progeny can.

Resemblance to his portrait extends from mimetic resemblance to formal properties: the Wanderer takes on the formal properties of a portrait, while his portrait takes on the properties of a live body. More frequently than any other noun in the novel, he is designated a "figure." His body continues to resemble his portrait painted 150 years ago. Like the portrait, it does not age or decay; like the portrait, it affords him an afterlife of unchanging resemblance to himself at a fixed point in time. Descriptions of the Wanderer's body are permeated with a rhetoric of static sameness: "Between him and the light stood the figure of Melmoth, just as he had seen him from the first; the figure was the same; the expression of the face was the same—cold, stony, and rigid; the eyes, with their

infernal and dazzling luster, were still the same" (54). The Wanderer shares the unchanging physiognomy of his portrait and its unchanging pathognomy. Observing people drowning, he is unmoved in both senses of that word: "[N]ot a thread of the stranger's garments seemed ruffled by the blast"; he is "a figure that showed neither sympathy or terror" (66).

And yet the unmoved, unmoving Wanderer is moved to violence. Rather than ceding to progeny in death, the Wanderer brings death to progeny. Another heir retaliates by destroying the Wanderer's portrait in an act of violent iconoclasm.

ICONOLATRY VERSUS ICONOCLASM

> ICONOLATRY The worship of images.
>
> —*Oxford English Dictionary*

> ICONOCLASM The breaking or destroying of images; especially the destruction of images and pictures set up as objects of veneration . . . the attacking or overthrow of venerated institutions and cherished beliefs regarded as fallacious or superstitious . . . erroneous or pernicious.
>
> —*Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd edition

> When [images] were brought into the churches, as one side fell to worshiping them, so the other side fell to breaking and defacing them, which bred many broils.
>
> —Thomas Bayley Howell and William Cobbett, *A Complete Collection of State Trials* (1816, 550)

> [F]anatics . . . thrust their bayonets through the family-pictures, which they called the idols of the high-places.
>
> —Charles Maturin, *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820, 455)

Craven's tale of the *Kinkvervankotsdarsprakengotchderns* pits iconoclastic progeny against iconolatrous patriarchs, with portraits as weapons. For the father, portraits are objects of iconolatry, bases of coercive discourses that control progeny. For the daughter, they are domestic objects to appropriate iconoclastically against patriarchal dictates. They thus have both reactionary and revolutionary functions.

First-wave British Gothic fiction draws on a substantial history of politically driven religious iconolatry and iconoclasm[3] between Catholic and Protestant Tu-

dors, as well as between Civil War Royalists and Roundheads. It is further informed by religiously driven political iconoclasm in the Gordon Riots of 1780, the Corn Law riots of the 1810s, and riots over the Reform Bill in 1831. When the Gordon Riots of 1780 protested new freedoms granted to Roman Catholics by the Catholic Relief Act of 1779, rioters destroyed aristocratic portraits as well as religious images. A handbill distributed on 6 June 1780 gives six reasons "why Protestants . . . should oppose the growth and establishment of Popery," the sixth being "[b]ecause Popery in the general leads to the grossest idolatry and superstition" (Vincent 67–8). Rioters destroyed both "books, crucifixes, images, and religious relics [in] great quantity" (Gordon 1780, 10) and aristocratic portraits:

> [A] desperate and infernal gang went to the elegant house of Lord Mansfield, in Bloomsbury Square, which they, with the most unrelenting fury, set fire to and consumed. The loss here was immense, both to Lord Mansfield as an individual and to the public. A most valuable collection of pictures . . . were all sacrificed by madmen and villains. (Vincent 1780, 29)

Concomitantly, although the Bristol Riots of 1831 protested the House of Lords' rejection of the Second Reform Bill and committed political iconoclasm ("John Williams . . . saw a portrait of the governor brought out; Mecay kicked a hole through the picture and threw it into the water" [*The Bristol Riots*, 1832, 245]), protestors also attacked the home and property of the bishop of Bristol. Demonstrators protesting the Corn Laws in the 1810s also engaged in iconoclasm. On 6 March 1815, "[r]ushing into the house [of Mr. Robinson, who introduced the bill], they then cut to pieces many valuable pictures, destroyed some of the larger pieces of furniture, and threw the rest into the street, to be trampled to pieces by their fellows" ("Riotous Proceedings on Account of the Corn Bill," 1815, 21).

Howell's and Cobbett's *A Complete Collection of State Trials* (1816) explains links between religious and political iconoclasm:

> For the destruction of images containeth an enterprise to subvert religion and the state of the world with it, and especially the nobility, who by images set forth and spread abroad to be read of all people their lineage, parentage, with remembrance of their state and acts . . . written with such letters as a few can spell, but such as all can read, be they never so rude. (1.555)

In 1804 Thomas Witherby too acknowledges that "idolatry may be connected with politics and resorted to for political as well as religious purposes and become more cruel, intolerant, and vindictive than [religious] idolatry" (qtd. in Review of Witherby's *An Attempt to Remove Prejudices*, 1805, 621). *Melmoth the Wanderer*

similarly ties religious to political idolatry, comparing the sacrifice of bodies on the altars of idols to lives sacrificed in the service of kings or country (304–5).

Iconoclasm, idolatry, and iconolatry have been addressed by more recent critics in theological, political, philosophical, aesthetic-semiotic, and historical-cultural contexts.[4] Rather than adopting the rational position that "[m]ost iconoclasm involves confusion between the image or sign (such as a statue) and its referent (the actual subject)" (Caviness), my research considers how theories of immanence emphasize continuities between iconoclasm and the destruction of bodies and between iconolatry and iconoclasm. In *Melmoth the Wanderer*, iconolatrous bodies are destroyed by and through their worship of images: "[M]ultitudes rushed forward from time to time to prostrate themselves underneath the wheels of the enormous machine [bearing the image of a goddess], which crushed them to atoms in a moment" (293). Iconolatry extends from self-sacrifice to relational destruction when "mothers cast their infants under the wheels of the car" (293) and adult children sacrifice aged parents to gods (294). Although the Wanderer, "with reluctant truth," contrasts such practices to Christianity, which "requires [Christians] to honor their parents and to cherish their children" (297), Christians sacrifice progeny to portraits in other Gothic fiction. Charlotte Turner Smith's *The Old Manor House* (1793) wages an intergenerational battle of iconolatry and iconoclasm, pitting live progeny against ancestral portraits to assert the vitality of the rising, eighteenth-century middle classes above the traditions of aristocrats. Set in the recent past, significantly a period of revolution in America (1776–9), and written following the French Revolution, which Smith admired, but before the Reign of Terror, which was to dampen British enthusiasm for it, the novel pits ancestral portrait iconolatry against iconoclastic progeny. Ancestral portraits are in pristine condition, maintained, cherished, and worshiped by the sole survivor of an aristocratic line: "The little withered figure, bent down with age and infirmity, and the last of a race which she was thus arrogantly boasting—a race, which in a few years, perhaps a few months, might be no more remembered—was a ridiculous instance of human folly and human vanity" (1.18).

This decrepit spinster, Grace Rayland, sets portrait iconolatry against progeny in various ways. The last of three "co-heiresses," a "colony of ancient virgins" (1.13) who "had been educated with such very high ideas of their own importance that they could never be prevailed upon to lessen by sharing it with any of [their] numerous suitors" (1.1), Grace has failed to perpetuate her own image through procreation. All her passion is directed toward ancestral portraits. Rejecting both present and future, her "whole conversation consist[s] of eulogiums on the days that were passed, in expressing . . . dislike of all that was now acting in a degener-

ate world and . . . contempt of the actors" (1.43). As worship of the past colludes with contempt for the present, ancestral iconolatry colludes with contempt for the live bodies of potential heirs. Grace reluctantly acknowledges that the continued power of her family depends on heirs as well as ancestors, but laments that her nearest relations are more middle-class than aristocratic and that their link to her line is matriarchal rather than patriarchal. Her great-aunt eloped with a yeoman's son, who rose through industry to gentleman farmer; their eldest son and first grandson continued to "debase" the line with "unworthy alliances" to middle-class women (1.3). The virgin Grace manifests both an "aversion" to the "feminine beauty" that impels men to marry such women and "an aversion to children" (1.8, 13).

Surprisingly, however, Grace ignores primogeniture, favoring the younger of her great-nephews as heir. She does so because she picture-identifies him with her grandfather. Named after him, the boy also resembles his portrait: "[O]ften she would look at an old enameled picture of Sir Orlando, her grandfather, and, comparing his features with his, admire the likeness" (2.267). Picture identification is the only way that she will reconcile progeny with portraits and link the present and future to the past.

Against further lineal incursions by the middle-class woman whom Orlando loves, Grace seeks to create the Rayland heir in the image of past Raylands by constructing him as a reproduction of ancestral portraits. Working to conform the live Orlando to two dead Orlandos, she regales the young man with stories of his namesakes, an ellipsis three times the size of a conventional one marking her obfuscation of the live heir in the picture identification:

> "My great great grandfather, who was also called Orlando . . . . . "
>
> Mrs. Rayland had soon totally forgotten the young hero who was before her, while she ran over the names and exploits of heroes past and, lost in their loyalty and their prowess, she forgot that hardly any other record of them remained upon earth than what her memory and their pictures in the gallery above afforded. (1.291)

The narrator presents both Grace's memory and the portraits as a forgetting and a loss of the present, in which progeny must cede to portraits. Grace demands that her heir augment his family resemblance through imitation, emulation, and theatrical accoutrements:

> Orlando promised he would conform to what she thought right in that respect—not however without some apprehensions that, as he advanced in life, she would propose to him, in order that he might be still more like Sir Orlando Rayland, whose

> portrait she wished him to resemble, to purchase a tie wig and brandish a sword, of which the guard should be lost in an immense sleeve. (2.49)

Orlando is aware that Grace "somehow associated the idea of his future welfare with that of their past consequence" (1.291). But her insistence that Orlando emulate "past consequence" threatens his future welfare—indeed, his future existence—when she determines to send him off to war: "Of Orlando's personal danger, therefore, she had, as he expected, no apprehensions and was rather desirous he should justify her partiality to him by emulating the fame of the heroes of her family than afraid of what might happen in the experiment" (2.78). As worshipers in *Melmoth* sacrifice their children to religious idols, Grace seeks to sacrifice her heir to ancestral icons. She wants him to emulate *dead* men.

Portrait iconolatry further threatens progeny when it jeopardizes Orlando's marriage. While there are no animated or haunted portraits in this novel, *belief* in them nevertheless controls bodies and limits the mobility of the woman Orlando loves, a dependent in the Rayland household: "[F]earful of not being able to keep you in sufficient awe by her terrific self, she has called forth all the deceased ladies of the Rayland family and gentlemen too . . . and beset you with spirits and hobgoblins if you dare to walk about the house" (1.56).

Against such threats of haunted portraits, the novel sets an act of playful, accidental iconoclasm. As Grace stands before the family portraits, sounding their praises, there is "a sudden and violent bounce towards the middle of the gallery" as an "object" strikes "against the picture of Sir Hildebrand himself" (1.20). Orlando has thrown a cricket ball through an open window to attract his lover's attention; it has inadvertently struck the portrait. His act of iconoclasm does not harm the portrait, but it threatens the line. From Grace's point of view, it threatens to dilute it further with bourgeois blood; from Orlando's, it leads to an enforced separation from the only woman he will consider marrying, threatening his future progeny.

When, after a long and perilous absence, Orlando returns to the manor house and recalls his act of youthful iconoclasm, ancestral portraits menace and terrorize him, as though in retaliation:

> He entered the long north gallery where, in the April days of their juvenile affection, he had nearly betrayed his innocent partiality for Monimia by throwing the cricket-ball against the window.—Hideous specters seemed to beckon to him from the other end of it and to menace him from the walls, though he knew that they were the portraits of his family in their black doublets, their armor, or their flowing night-gowns.

Although his *knowing* supersedes their *seeming* and the focus on their costumes emphasizes their constructedness, undermining them as spirits, they nevertheless arrest his mind and mobility: "[H]e stopped, however, in terror" (2.169). Paradoxically, he is rendered inanimate by the fear that has animated the portraits.

More substantially, however, family portraits empower Orlando through his nominal and facial resemblances to them. He appears to Grace as an animated portrait of her grandfather: "[W]hat a fine countenance! I could almost have fancied it was my grandfather's picture walked out of its frame" (1.232). In being thus identified, he assumes some of the portrait's respect; in seeming to animate it, he dislocates his ancestor from his habitual frame. Crucially, this picture identification of Orlando occurs when he is exhibiting distinctly nonaristocratic sentiments, pleading favor for the dissolute elder brother who is his chief rival for the inheritance. Grace could not, even "with all her natural severity of temper and little sensibility to great or generous actions, help being affected by the noble disinterestedness of her young favorite, who thus labored to reconcile to her a brother who would have been considered by most young men as a formidable rival in her favor." However, rather than attributing his behavior to his middle-class lineage and education, "this exalted goodness of heart she put down immediately to the account of the Rayland blood . . . she remarked that he every day became more and more like the Rayland family" (1.232). Orlando causes Grace to align her notion of aristocratic virtues with his middle-class values so that the Rayland ancestor now resembles *him*. This reciprocal mirroring of resemblance undermines the one-way hierarchies of aristocratic lines.

But nonaristocratic values are by no means unified in this novel. Orlando's virtues are set against both a decaying aristocracy and bourgeois incursions on inherited positions: "[N]ew-created lords [who] spring up like mushrooms from nobody knows where every year . . . enriched tradesm[e]n, who [have] bought [their] title[s]" (1.129). *The Old Manor House* is as concerned with the threat to established middle-class gentry from the lower ranks as it is with the downward mobility of old aristocracy, which it presents as a fait accomplis from page one. Although Orlando is of predominantly middle-class descent, as landed gentry his family is occupational as well as biological kin to aristocracy. While Orlando must in the end buy his title (2.210), the narrator makes every effort to distinguish him from the grasping, ambitious servants and tradesmen who have risen from the middling into the professional classes and now seek to penetrate the aristocracy through marriage: "[R]ich as Doctor Hollybourn was, he began his classical career as a servitor at Oxford . . . his brother-in-law the bishop, from

whose nepotism his wealth and consequence had been in great measure derived, was the son of an innkeeper" (1.253). Orlando's inheritance and life are far less threatened by the aristocratic woman who wants to send him into battle than by such men. Causing "the death of his father and the dispersion of his family, his loss of the Rayland estate, and the ruin of his brother" (2.219), these Gothic villains are not satisfied with buying defunct titles; they crave alliances with ancient titles through marriage that will retroactively identify them as noble. Hollybourn observes:

> [A] title has its advantages . . . especially if it be an ancient title. . . . how should I be thankful, how feel myself elevated, if my daughter, marrying into such a family, should restore it, while my interest might obtain a renewal in her posterity of the fading honors of an illustrious race! (1.254)

Hollybourn's daughter epitomizes the nouveau riche woman: ugly, overdressed, wealthy, proud, self-promoting, socially aggressive, and highly educated. Like Grace, she engages in iconolatry to promote her *own* importance, discoursing on the Rayland portraits and pictures to display "her knowledge both in painting and history," "imagining her auditors were amazed and edified by both." Such iconolatry is blatantly aspirational: she "had something to say on every object she beheld. One bespoke the grandeur, another the taste, a third the antiquity of the family who were owners of the mansion," all of which she aspires to possess. Unlike the ancient heiress, the would-be heiress values the heir more than the portraits: "[S]till, among all this common-place declamation, it was easy to see that the most amiable moveable in it at present was, in her opinion, the handsome, interesting Orlando" (1.247–8). However, this is chiefly because her aspirations depend on the conquest of his body.

Orlando's mother, grandmother, and the woman he does marry, Monimia, epitomize the "right" kind of middle-class woman: beautiful, graceful, humble, sweet, innocent, tender, nurturing, plainly dressed, and truthful. A downwardly mobile, bourgeois orphan destined for a life of servitude, Monimia contrasts with Miss Hollybourn in the direction of her social mobility as well as in her personal traits. Orlando seeks to rescue her, as his grandfather had rescued his grandmother from similar servitude, reappropriating chivalry in the service of middle-class ascendancy. Orlando's inheritance depends on moving aside an ancestral portrait to reveal the "true will" (2.295) of the now-deceased Grace. This is not a portrait of a patriarch, nor is it an original portrait, nor is it an individual portrait, nor is it located in the family gallery. Rather, it is a copy of a matriarchal group

portrait representing "the Lady Alithea, second wife of the first Sir Hildebrand Rayland with her two sons and a dog" (2.333), placed in a servant's room. The portrait undercuts the authenticity, patriarchal prerogatives, and individualism of the portraits worshiped by Grace; it further lacks authority in that it must move aside to reveal the will. Hidden behind this secondary portrait of a second wife lies "the real will of my Lady" (3.334) confirming Orlando as heir and revoking the false will that gave her property to the Hollybourns.

By today's standards, *The Old Manor House* is more reactionary than progressive because, while it presents middle-class gentry as legitimate claimants to aristocratic positions, it presents further social mobility as criminal. Orlando's entitlement depends as much on the lower orders staying in their places as on aristocrats ceding theirs to him. Implicitly, Hollybourn should have remained a servant. Indeed, the signature on the letter directing Orlando to the hidden will repositions a usurping servant as Orlando's "affectionate humble servant" (2.335), and the "useful old military mendicant" who delivers the letter likewise greets Orlando with affectionate subservience: "Ah, my dear master!" (2.329). Appearing initially as an indistinct, mobile image ("the image of some object moving along its bank . . . from the gentle waving of the water as it approached the shore, was not distinct" [2.329]), he represents uncertainty about the imaged identities of the upwardly mobile underclasses. Immediately prior to his apparition, Orlando has been reminiscing about devoted servants; staring into the water, he has been recalling how one saved him from drowning in childhood. Despairing of his own social mobility, he now wishes that he *had* drowned. At this moment, the image of the aged servant appears on the surface of the water, drawing him from suicide in its depths to consider water's capacities for imaging mobile identities. Advancing "with difficulty on his crutches," the imaged servant affirms his restricted social mobility (2.329). Moreover, that he has undergone immense labor and hardship to bring Orlando the letter offers reassurance that lower-class bodies can and will act solely to promote upper-middle-class interests at the expense of their own. Strikingly, the final line of the novel concerns not Orlando's marriage, children, friends, property, or philanthropy, but this man: "Orlando never passed through his own gate without being agreeably reminded, by the grateful alacrity of this contented servant, of his past afflictions and his present felicity" (2.347). The "contented servant," who does not aspire to usurp him, forms the final image in Orlando's happily-ever-after status/stasis.

The Old Manor House threatens to but does not sacrifice live heirs to ancestral portraits or destroy portraits with iconoclasm. By contrast, *Melmoth the Wan-*

derer's animated portrait kills an heir, and an heir destroys an ancestral portrait. Whereas in *The Castle of Otranto* ancestral portraits of legitimate rulers terrorize and destroy *usurpers*, in *Melmoth the Wanderer* an ancestor menaces, terrorizes, injures, and kills his own *heirs*. At the start of the novel, the dying possessor of the Melmoth estate points to an ancestral portrait "as if he was pointing to a living being," insisting that "the original is still alive" a century and a half after the portrait was painted, asserting that this discovery has dealt him a mortal blow: "I am dying of a fright. That man . . . is alive still" (18). The ongoing life of an ancestor here not only interferes with the parallel lines of lineage and portraiture; it also destroys progeny.

His heirs retaliate with iconoclasm. The dying heir's will sets parallel afterlives, progeny and portraits, at violent odds: "I enjoin my nephew and heir, John Melmoth, to remove, destroy, or cause to be destroyed the portrait inscribed J. Melmoth, 1646, hanging in my closet" (21).[5] Because the Wanderer appears in multiple forms as spirit, body, and portrait, crossing and blurring the lines between them, John Melmoth's uncle hopes that destroying the portrait, together with the manuscript that extends the Wanderer's picture identification from name to narrative, will destroy the Wanderer. John's destruction of the ancestral portrait evinces tensions between its power over him and his power over it: "He tore it from the frame with a cry half terrific, half triumphant—it fell at his feet and he shuddered as it fell" (60). Terror and triumph coexist; he recoils from his own iconoclastic act: "He expected to hear some fearful sounds, some unimaginable breathings of prophetic horror, follow this act of sacrilege, for such he felt it, to tear the portrait of his ancestor from his native walls" (60). Terror, however, intensifies rather than mitigates iconoclasm: "He caught it up, rushed into the next room, tore, cut, and hacked it in every direction and eagerly watched the fragments that burned like tinder in the turf fire" (60).

Iconoclasm proves ineffectual because, although the Wanderer crosses the lines of soul, body, and portrait, he remains uncontained by them. The Wanderer—very much alive after the destruction of his portrait—appears to his iconoclastic namesake: "You have burned *me*, then; but those are flames *I* can survive.—*I* am alive—*I* am beside you" (60, emphasis added). The personal pronouns suggest that the act of iconoclasm has destroyed the object but not the subject.

Against the uncle's will and expectation, what survives the destruction of the portrait is *more* menacingly embodied than the portrait, because, when iconoclasm removes the representation, it calls the body forth. Scopic haunting metamorphoses into violent physical contact. Forebears mark the bodies of descen-

dants with their physical resemblances; this ancestor marks his descendant's body with violence: John "looked at [his wrist;] it was black and blue, as from the recent gripe of a strong hand" (60). In the widely circulated abridged version, this is the last line of the tale, suggesting as its moral the oppressive, even diabolical power of ancestral over contemporary identities and the futility of resisting them. In the full novel, however, the act of iconoclasm is followed by retaliatory acts of violence against the iconoclast: a storm that demolishes the house (61) and the near drowning of John Melmoth as he pursues the Wanderer through that storm. Strangely, at the end of the Wanderer's additional 150 years of life, John is seized by "the wild hope of seeing the original of that portrait he had destroyed burst from the walls and take up the fearful tale himself" (534). When the original does appear, John identifies him by his resemblance to the destroyed portrait: "[T]he form and the figure were that of a living man of the age indicated in the portrait, which the young Melmoth had destroyed." But there is one significant difference: "[T]he eyes were as the eyes of the dead" (535–6). As the Wanderer loses his resemblance to his portrait, he becomes "the very image of hoary decrepit debility" (540), the resemblance of a common rather than a proper noun, signifying utter lack of power. When he dies, he leaves no corpse—only footsteps and a handkerchief. The one child he fathered, of whom he had hoped, "whatever becomes of me, there shall yet be a human being on earth who traces me in its external form" (510), has died in infancy. John's destruction of the Wanderer's portrait and manuscript has eradicated the ancestral picture identification. Yet the narrative of iconoclasm paradoxically reinscribes the portrait and attests to its iconographic power.

Iconolatry and iconoclasm, then, are not simply opposed. In *Melmoth*, the crucifix forges pivotal links between the two—between icons destroying bodies and bodies destroying icons—as it is simultaneously an image of a body sacrificed to a god and an image of a god sacrificed. Rendering the body sacrificed to deity itself a deity to be worshiped, the crucifix represents man as god and god as man and, more pertinent to this discussion, the body as image and the image as body. The inverse relationship simultaneously ruptures and fuses the opposition between iconoclasm and iconolatry. Turning the sacrificed body into an image that itself receives iconolatry, the crucifix fuses the image with its own iconoclasm, its own destruction, calling forth the worship of iconoclasm, as the next section expounds.

VIOLENT VERSUS PASSIVE ICONOCLASM

> [I]f we love truth more than the fine arts, let us pray God for some iconoclasts.
>
> —Denis Diderot, *Salon de 1765* (qtd. in Idzerda 13)

> [T]he image was but multiplied by the violence it received.
>
> —William Godwin, *Mandeville* (1817, 1.80)

John Melmoth's destruction of an ancestral portrait joins wider historical and literary contexts in which the working classes, rhetorically figured as political children, destroy the portraits of political patriarchs. Eighteenth-century French writers are aware of how images construct theological and political power: "The governors of men have always made use of painting and sculpture in order to inspire in their subjects the religious or political sentiments they desire them to hold" (eighteenth-century French encyclopedia, qtd. in Idzerda 13). Parliamentary archives of the French Revolution and Reign of Terror emphasize the importance of destroying "symbols of royalty, superstition, and ignorance" and of "slavery, despotism, and fanaticism" (qtd. in Idzerda 18). Symbols constructing royals as despots construct their consumers as superstitious, fanatical, ignorant slaves.

However, revolutionary iconoclasts do not simply destroy portraits as symbols of power; they destroy them as sites of immanence and inherence. Their destruction of royal and aristocratic portraits, paintings, statues, and coins therefore images their destruction of royal and aristocratic bodies; both emphasize the destruction of privileged names and faces. New laws abolish aristocratic titles; new crimes render aristocrats common-noun criminals; new punishments decapitate aristocratic heads, reducing them to common-noun bodies. Concomitantly, aristocratic heads are mounted on pikes in grotesque parodies of portraiture. Following the destruction of the statues of kings, the journal *Révolutions de Paris* asserts that, "for those who cannot read, it will be as though those names . . . had never existed" (qtd. in Idzerda 15).

The inherence of revolutionary iconoclasm goes both ways. As persons are destroyed in ways accentuating their affinities with portraits, portraits are destroyed as though they were persons. After the fall of the monarchy in 1792, statues of kings and nobles are beheaded, buried, and banished (Gamboni 32). A medal portrait of General La Fayette, "by a decree of the Council, was broken in pieces by the common executioner" (La Fayette 1825, 297). Assaults on tombs lead to the simultaneous destruction of effigies and bodies: "[T]he statues of the

kings and queens of France were broken in pieces and all the remains of the first two races destroyed. The tombs were opened, the coffins melted down, and the bones burnt or scattered" (Heron 1794, 227).

Regal and aristocratic portraits were ceremonially mutilated and burned before portraits of new leaders. The smoke from Champagne's portrait of Louis XIII "was wafted toward the bust [of Marat]. It was the most agreeable incense we could offer him." Artist Jacques-Louis David called for the effigies of kings and cardinals to be "made into an enormous bonfire . . . as a expiatory sacrifice" before a statue of liberty (*Archives parlementaire* 648–51, qtd. in Idzerda 17). In one instance, a bust was placed on trial before other busts:

> Here on an elevated platform sit president and secretaries; behind and above them the white busts of Mirabeau, of Franklin, and various others, nay finally of Marat. Facing this is the tribune. . . . [Mirabeau's] bust in the Hall of the Convention "is veiled with gauze," till we ascertain. Alas, it is too ascertainable! His bust in the Hall of the Jacobins, denounced by Robespierre from the tribune in mid-air, is not veiled; it is instantly broken to shards, a patriot mounting swiftly with a ladder and shivering it down on the floor—it and others, amid shouts. (*Journal des Débats des Jacobins* xxii. 296, qtd. in Carlyle 3.2.5:77)

The two modes of destruction—of bodies and portraits—feed and fuel each other.

By contrast, although there are occasional outbursts of iconoclasm during religious and political riots, Britain went the way of reform rather than revolution. Following the 1832 Reform Act, William Jerdan assesses that "the middle classes, which will always be the most influential portion of society, naturally dreaded any violent excitement, even in favor of liberty, after witnessing the enormities practiced by the revolutionists of France" (Jerdan, "Sir Francis Burdett," *National Portrait Gallery*, 1834, 5.2).[6] In spite of Isaac Disraeli dubbing the iconoclast Dowsing "a redoubtable Goth" with a "rage for reformation" (1824, 68), acts of violent iconoclasm are surprisingly rare in Gothic fiction.[7] Without ancestors to animate them or heirs to destroy them, the vast majority of ancestral portraits undergo a slower, more passive iconoclasm at the hands of time, history, and progress, decomposing like corpses, falling into ruins like Gothic castles: "[P]ortraits, which were very numerous, [were] much defaced by time and neglect" (Sleath, *The Orphan of the Rhine*, 1798, 191). "Defaced" gestures further to a loss of identity located by bourgeois discourses in the face (see chapter 2). Passive iconoclasm represents aristocratic loss of identity as the moral, natural, logical result of impersonal, higher forces rather than the criminal, unnatural, violent acts of

mortals. However, because the middle classes saw themselves as the agents of progressive history and aristocrats as the agents of their own decline, passive iconoclasm by no means lacks agency.

Gothic fiction revels in its decaying aristocratic portraits as much as any revolutionary displaying decomposing heads on spikes. Like Gothic villains, decaying portraits appear to participate in their own destruction. In a nation that rejected revolution in favor of reform, a decaying iconography affords greater iconoclastic power than a rapidly destroying one. Like crucifixes, decaying portraits carry greater iconoclastic resonance than eradicated symbols because they incorporate iconoclasm into their iconographies. Decay renders icons and iconoclasm immanent and inherent to each other; decomposition inheres in their composition; illegibility and imperceptibility become immanent to their representation. The inherence of iconoclasm in the icon points to future obliteration rather than future immortality, as well as to the obliteration of any perceptible past. Decay reimposes temporality iconoclastically on portraiture's claim to stasis and eternal life.

Decomposing portraits represent loss, not lack—the loss of their subjects' identity, power, and significance along with the portraits' own loss of power to represent them or, indeed, anything. Such loss is complicated and intensified by concepts of portraiture as absent presence: iconoclasm presses portraiture's absent presence toward a black hole of significatory nothingness. Decay marks the past as past—as going, going, and soon to be gone. In the end, loss *will* become lack; absent presence *will* become utter absence. In *The Black Robber* (1819), a castle abandoned by aristocrats and inhabited by banditti features "long tarnished gilt frames, once probably filled with portraits . . . now contain nothing save the dank, decaying canvas, which had long since assumed a dark and sepulchral hue" (1.135). The tarnished, g(u)ilty frames that were once contexts for aristocratic iconographies now contain almost (but not quite) "nothing"; the novel "saves" the decaying canvas as an emblem of iconoclasm. The canvas that was once the ground of picture identifications created by contrasts in light and color has become a single hue of sameness that signifies only darkness, death, burial, and decomposition. If difference is the basis of significance, sameness here pulls toward a black hole of nonsignificance. This is the revolutionary power that utter resemblance threatens.

Descriptions of moldering portraits carry the immanence of bodies and portraits into a further immanence of decomposition. In Peter Will's *The Victim of Magical Delusion* (1795), "the walls were decorated with some worm-eaten,

half decayed pictures" (1.5). Representations of portraits undergoing decomposition as decaying corpses do simultaneously undermine portraiture's promise of immortality and its claim to represent the soul. Joining aristocratic lines whose progeny die out, decaying portraits promise a final end to aristocratic afterlives.

Although it is ostensibly nonviolent, passive iconoclasm in Gothic fiction is shot through with a rhetoric of destruction and injury: "The wainscoting was hung round with large pictures; but except one, they were all nearly destroyed" (Moore, *Grasville Abbey*, 1797, 2.79); "the ancient portraits of the family" were "materially injured by time . . . covered with dust and . . . injured with the damps" (*The Orphan of the Rhine* 43, 27). Defacing, destruction, and injury render such iconographies barely perceptible. Moore's full sentence reads: "The wainscoting was hung round with large pictures; but except one, they were all nearly destroyed, *so as to make it impossible to discover the subjects*"; Sleath's indicates that the portraits were "so materially injured by time, that *the figures were scarcely perceptible*" (emphasis added). The scarcely perceptible figures, the impossible-to-discover subjects suggest the failure of portraiture to represent—to stably or enduringly identify persons—and the failure of aristocratic iconographies in the wake of bourgeois history and progress. The rise of the middle classes has been so rapid that even portraits "which were apparently more modern than the rest . . . were so covered with dust and so injured with the damps as to have lost much of their former beauty" (*The Orphan of the Rhine* 27).

That the present and future are deemed more compelling than the past leads to iconoclastic *neglect* of ancestral portraits: they are "much damaged by neglect" as well as "materially injured by time" (*The Orphan of the Rhine* 43). Even the live heirs for whom portraits constitute heirlooms show scant concern for them. The destroyed portrait in *Melmoth the Wanderer* stands in contrast to a normative "tribe of family pictures that are left to molder on the walls of a family mansion": "The family portraits looked as if they were the only tenants of the mansion; they seemed to say from their moldering frames, 'there are none to gaze on us' " (17, 31). Addressing Hampton Court's portraits in 1823, a periodical writer indicates their similar neglect by contemporaries:

> [T]he painted effigies of those beauties that hang upon their otherwise bare walls . . . have nothing to listen to but the hurried footsteps of a single domestic, who passes through them daily to wipe away the dust from their untrodden floors, only that it may collect there again, or the unintelligible jargon of a superannuated dependent, as he describes to a few straggling visitors . . . the objects of art that have been deposited in them, like treasures in a tomb. ("British Galleries of Art. No. 3: Hampton Court" 291)

This crepuscular account too shades royal and aristocratic portraits with decay and death.

But the inscription of neglect by no means marks a loss of interest in aristocratic portraiture: rather, it marks a culture obsessed with aristocratic iconoclasm. The housekeeper in Lady Sydney Morgan's *Florence Macarthy*, a rabid anti-Catholic and anti-Royalist, exhibits a more aggressive neglect: "May be yez would like to see the ould family pictures which will go with the house, being worth nothing now, barring the frames" (1818, 1.212 [*sic*]). In the gallery, added to the usual "few pictures, which moldered in their tarnished frames," are pictures put to more degrading and damaging uses:

> They were surprised to find the great number to be portraits of the most eminent characters of Charles the Second's court. The beauties, the wits, the warriors of that day . . . faded representatives of all that was once lovely and animated lay upon the ground and the dilettante traveler soon detected . . . [a portrait] of the coquettish Countess of Chesterfield stopping a broken window[, . . . another] screening out the ungrated hearth of a capacious chimney-piece, while the fair Hamilton . . . hung in a most maudlin state out of her frame and "la belle Stewart" lay undistinguished in a corner. (1.216)

Out of their frames, noble portraits are repositioned as naughty children in the corner rather than as patriarchs and matriarchs; they now represent domestic objects employed by servants rather than employers of servants.

The visitors, however, are more sympathetic to the fates of Catholic and Royalist portraits than the housekeeper, as were periodical writers. Decaying portraits become occasions for nostalgia and sentiment: "The walls . . . are nearly covered with paintings, most of them in a wretched state of decay, and many of which seem to have deserved a better fate than to be left to rot on the damp walls when all things else were removed" ("Penshurst Castle," 1823, 550–1). Censuring the neglect of "the descendants of Sydney," this writer speculates:

> Perchance they think that, in thus abandoning the spot to the mercy of time and leaving it free to the visits of poor pilgrims like myself, who go to it once in their lives as they would to the shrine of a patron-saint—they better evince their sense of the self-preserving qualities of their ancestor's name and fame than if they made it the scene of modern . . . shooting parties and the like. . . . His memory had better be left to itself than cherished unworthily. (551)

This writer's nostalgic, sentimental, passive-aggressive iconoclasm cherishes the decay of greatness, while allowing no contemporary context in which a noble "ancestor's name and fame" can thrive.

Other journalists are less nostalgic, undermining royal and aristocratic portraiture with aesthetic judgments and displacing it with a Romantic nature. The author of "British Galleries of Art. No. 5: Windsor Castle" (1823) advises:

> Through the queen's Dressing-room . . . the visitor may pass as quickly as he pleases, for it is filled with portraits of Queen Charlotte's family, executed as badly as they can well be, but better than such unsightly-looking personages deserved, if *looks* are the criterion of merit—which in fact, they *are*, as far as it regards the portrait painter. (347, emphasis in original)

Portraiture's immanence allows an aesthetic critique that simultaneously attacks the portraits as badly executed and the sitters as "unsightly" and lacking "merit." More pertinently, the oxymoronic "unsightly-looking" renders them spectacles from which one must look away to nature:

> But from the windows of this room the visitor will do well to look forth upon one of the finest sights the eye can behold. I should think the prospect from this point of view is unrivalled in its kind for grandeur, richness, and variety . . . [the view] is worth all [the portraits], fine as they are . . . I have compressed my account of the pictures in this gallery within narrower limits than I might have done in order that I might have space left for some notice of the splendid frame-work in which they are enclosed and the unrivalled living picture which lies immediately within their view. (347, 350)

As we saw in chapter 4, the bourgeoisie lay claim to Romantic Nature, with its cycles of destruction and rebirth, and set it against lineal, hierarchical chains of being.

Gothic heroines precede and may even have prompted periodical critics to pit middle-class aesthetic judgment and Romantic views of nature against aristocratic and religious images. In *The Orphan of the Rhine*, aesthetic insult joins iconoclastic injury when its portraits are pronounced "in general ill-designed and executed" (43). As poor composition joins decomposition, lack joins loss. Aesthetic judgment renders a bourgeois heroine's taste superior to that of the aristocrats who commissioned them and the artists who produced them:

> When she had gazed for a considerable time upon these relics of ancient greatness, she opened the high Gothic casement of her window, which was adorned on the upper part with a variety of saints, crucifixes, and other holy devices, and cast her eyes over the fine extent of landscape with the most pleasurable emotions. (43)

Subsequently the heroine turns from aristocratic and religious images, going outdoors "that she might examine more attentively the fine features of nature." Nature's "fine features" trump the poorly executed, nearly illegible features of portraits; the cyclical, self-renewing temporality of nature counters the decay worked by linear time upon lineal portraits.

As we saw in chapter 3, the "greater part" of the "ill-designed and executed" portraits is "allegorical" (43). Allegory's etymology is "speaking other than one seems to speak" (*OED*). Two dictionaries published in 1810 define "allegorical invention" as "a choice of objects which serve to represent either wholly or partly *what they are not* and of which the expression arises from illusion" (Mortimer; Watkin, emphasis added). Whereas the decay of decomposition gradually makes representations "what they were not," allegorical composition renders them always already "what they were not," undercutting nostalgic iconoclastic loss with a more damning iconoclasm of lack.

Joining such discourses to those on iconolatry, in 1831 "Ignoramus on the Fine Arts" figures allegory as idolatry's elder sister and both as productive of aesthetic monstrosities: "Idolatry and her elder sister Allegory have spawned more monsters than ever sprung from Medusa's Gorgon blood" (512). In 1832 an essay "By One of the Observant" charges that the works of allegorical painters imitating Reynolds "paid the penalty of their deviation from the laws of taste, being exiled to the gloomy solitude of deserted galleries or chambers and the custody of antiquated housekeepers in the country mansions of their noble originals" ("Rambling Reminiscences" 171). Iconoclastic critique here comes full circle, justifying the neglect of aristocratic portraits and minimizing their loss with their lack.

In 1823 William Hazlitt's "The Pictures at Hampton-Court" suggests that decay dematerializes royal and aristocratic portraits. Discussing "the decayed and dilapidated state of the pictures themselves," he asserts, "They are the more majestic for being in ruin . . . all the petty, meretricious part of the art is dead in them; the carnal is made spiritual; the corruptible has put on incorruption; and, amidst the wreck of color and the moldering of material beauty, nothing is left but a universe of thought" (617). As social iconographies disintegrate along with the "petty, meretricious part of the art," "nothing is left but a universe of" a middle-class man's iconoclastic "thought." More didactically, an essay by Elia (Charles Lamb) invokes nostalgia for decayed aristocratic houses and portraits to claim possession of them for bourgeois identities. Finding a "great house" he had known in childhood undergoing demolition because its decay has rendered it "incompatible with the bustle of modern occupancy and vanities of foolish pres-

ent aristocracy" (1823, 1), Lamb dismisses aristocratic attempts to keep up with modernity and progress as vain and foolish: "The work of ruin had proceeded with a swift hand indeed and the demolition of a few weeks had reduced it to—an antiquity." With indistinction comes loss of distinction: "I was astonished at the indistinction of everything . . . a few bricks only lay as representatives of that which was so stately and so spacious" (2–3). Onto empty indistinction, Lamb inscribes middle-class ideologies and identities. The process begins with looking. In childhood, he had only "stolen a look" at "the stern bright visages, staring reciprocally" with unwavering gaze from noble tapestries (3). Through the mirror of mutual looking, he had re-created himself in their image:

> [I have] in childhood so oft stood poring upon thy mystic characters [the faces of tapestries]—thy emblematic supporters, with their prophetic "Resurgam"—till, every dreg of peasantry purging off, I received into myself Very Gentility. Thou wert first in my morning eyes and of nights hast detained my steps from bedward, till it was but a step from gazing at thee to dreaming on thee. This is the only true gentry by adoption. (6–7)

In 1793 the fictional Orlando had been adopted as heir on the basis of his resemblance to an ancestral portrait; in 1823 Romanticism makes the process one of imagining and dreaming. It is a short step from identification *of* the image to identification *with* the image. Romantic feeling completes the coup:

> To have the *feeling* of gentility, it is not necessary to have been *born* gentle. The pride of ancestry may be had on cheaper terms than to be obliged to an importunate race of ancestors. . . . The claims of birth are ideal merely. . . . What else, were the families of the great to us? What pleasure should we take in their tedious genealogies or their capitulatory brass monuments? What to us the uninterrupted current of their bloods if our own did not answer within us to a cognate and correspondent elevation? (6, emphasis added)

Displacing the material and physical (portraits, birth, and blood) with the mental and affective (imagination, sentiment, and sympathy), Lamb picture-identifies nonnobles with/as aristocrats. As much as the middle classes condemned idealist aristocratic portraiture, they adopted idealist and abstract aesthetics to elevate themselves above the concretism of aristocratic birth and blood. Laying claim through imagination to the images that aristocrats had abandoned, Lamb simultaneously revenges the wrongs of his humble ancestors and seizes an aristocratic identity for himself and his present family:

> And what if my ancestor at that date was some Damoetas—feeding flocks, not his own, upon the hills of Lincoln—did I in less earnest vindicate to myself the family trappings of this once proud Aegon?—repaying by a backward triumph the insults he might possibly have heaped in his lifetime upon my poor pastoral progenitor.
>
> If it were presumption so to speculate, the present owners of the mansion had least reason to complain. They had long forsaken the old house of their fathers for a newer trifle and I was left to appropriate to myself what images I could pick up to raise my fancy or to soothe my vanity.
>
> I was the true descendant of those old W——s, and not the present family of that name, who had fled the old waste places. (7–8)

As Gothic heroes and heroines lay claim to aristocratic identities through picture identification, so too does Lamb, capitalizing on the absence of present owners to stake his claim. Dislocating the aristocratic name, he inserts his own, making his family's resemblance to aristocratic portraits the basis of his claim, as Gothic fiction does:

> Mine was that gallery of good old family portraits, which as I have gone over, giving them in fancy my own family name, one—and then another—would seem to smile, reaching forward from the canvas to recognize the new relationship, while the rest looked grave, as it seemed, at the vacancy in their dwelling and thoughts of fled posterity.
>
> That Beauty with the cool blue pastoral drapery and a lamb—that hung next the great bay window—with the bright yellow H——shire hair and eye of watchet hue—so like my Alice!—I am persuaded she was a true Elia—Mildred Elia, I take it. (8)

Both his actual name (Lamb) and his pen name (Elia) displace the aristocratic name. Yet his is a squatter's heritage achieved through internalizing and projecting immanence, absent presence, and the slippages between words and images.

If most British writers favor passive over violent iconoclasm, they nevertheless embrace French Revolutionary practices of recycling destroyed iconographies to forge new ones. Idzerda cites a French decree issued on 14 August 1792: "[T]he bronze in these monuments can be converted into cannon for the defense of *la patrie*" (16). All over France, bronze and marble from destroyed statues were recast and rechiseled to construct new monuments to nonnobles. Coins nominated "louis"[8] bearing the faces and names of royalty were melted into coins nominated "francs" bearing an archetypal figure of liberty and the words, "REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE." In 1794: "There is not now a single French

crown . . . in circulation anywhere through the whole empire . . . no person dare openly attempt to circulate that species of money" (Heron 1794, 168). Picture identification, then, survived the Reign of Terror, emerging from its rubble, melting pots, and pyres. But it did not restore the status quo. Rather, picture identification had been implicated in an unprecedented inversion of social, political, and class identities.

In Britain, the process was slower, less revolutionary, and centered on the middle rather than lower classes, but it was no less decisive. In 1784, although a British periodical writer affirmed that "[t]he state of coinage in any kingdom is commonly a barometer of its power, always of the state of its arts; hence it is matter of national glory," he equally insisted that

> decorating a modern prince with a crown of laurel, an ornament never now used, is truly childish, as is the Roman armor and every circumstance not belonging to real life. Want of genius is the only plea an artist can offer for the stupid practice of following models at the expense of nature.
>
> On the reverse, the poor presentation of the arms of a country may be considered as proof that Europe wants yet some centuries of eloping from barbarism. Of all possible reverses this must be allowed the most Gothic and empty of all thought or design. (Review of "An Essay on Medals," 1784, 522)

Joining Gothic in challenging regal authority, this author rejects regal symbolism *as* Gothic, in the sense of barbarous. In their place, the writer wants a king's head without armor or crown on all coins and wants their obverses to represent symbols that not only promote bourgeois values but equally undermine regal and aristocratic ones:

> The guinea might present a figure of Liberty, as the most precious of our possessions and worthy of the analogy of gold; the legend might be, The Guardian of Britain. On the half-guinea, suppose an image of Fortitude, The Guardian of Liberty. The crown-piece might bear Liberty, Agriculture, and Commerce, United to Bless; the half-crown, the king, a peer, and a commoner, emblematic of our happy constitution, with the legend, United to Protect. The shilling might be charged with a ship of war convoying a merchant vessel, Wealth and Power; the six-pence with an oak in a storm, Stronger from the Tempest. The halfpenny may remain as it is, with regard to the impression, only doubling the size of the coin; the Britannia should hold a trident in her right hand and let the other recline upon the helm of a ship instead of holding both aloft, with impertinent articles in each, a posture very Gothic and unknown to the ancients. What is the meaning of

> her long spear? What of her olive branch, with which she sits, like an old lady in a Gothic picture with a flower in her hand? The farthing, of the size of the present halfpenny, might present a husbandman sowing, with this legend, By Industry Small Things Grow Great.

By picture identification, the small grow great as well. The next chapter considers how, through reading and viewing picture identifications, the small grow great through knowledge.

CHAPTER SIX

Identifying Pictures

ICONOLOGY That branch of knowledge which deals with the subject of icons (in any sense of the word); also the subject-matter of this study, icons collectively, or as objects of investigation, etc.

—*Oxford English Dictionary*

The undue reverence for antiquity, the authority of names, the pursuit of unattainable objects, the examination only of the rare, the extraordinary, and the great, together with superstition . . . had long opposed the progress of true knowledge.

—"Bacon, Francis," *The Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* (1835, 3.249)

ICONOLOGIES OF PICTURE IDENTIFICATION

Joining political and aesthetic attacks on idealist representation is a growing sense that "undue reverence for antiquity" opposes "the progress of true knowledge." "Antiquity" represents aristocratic authority; "true knowledge" gestures to bourgeois sources of power. Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* (1791–2) champions the authority of representation over the representation of authority, vesting

what comes later in the chain of imaged identity (the representation) with greater power than what comes before (the represented). If from one angle of view each link in the chain of imaging moves further away from authorizing and authentic originals, from another, each link gathers the cumulative authority of prior images. In aristocratic ideology, the sense that each generation falls off from great originals is countered by the proportionally higher esteem accorded older families: the older the aristocratic family, the greater its value. Yet paradoxically, the older the family, the further it lies from its authorizing origins, making it vulnerable to narratives of decline and fall. Bourgeois ideology also asserts nonnoble social value from both temporal angles of view. Paine argues that the divine origins of ordinary men stretch further back than the Norman Conquest to Genesis; critics such as Knox argue that bourgeois cultural value is self-fashioned, progressive, and accumulative, like their capitalist economics.

In the chain of imaging, only the *perception* of images comes after the images themselves; perception, therefore, holds authority over the whole chain of images, because it governs the interpretation of the entire chain. Perception is not simply seeing images. In 1690 John Locke nominates perception "the first step and degree towards knowledge . . . the inlet of all knowledge in our minds" (85). For Locke, perception is an implicitly passive "inlet" for empirical knowledge produced actively by the mind. But theories of mind in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries deem perception to be the active *production* of images. Thomas Reid assesses in 1785 that

> all philosophers, from Plato to Mr. Hume, agree in this: that we do not perceive external objects immediately, and that the immediate object of perception must be some *image* present to the mind. So far there appears an unanimity, rarely to be found among philosophers on such abstruse points. (1.416, emphasis added)

Under both theories of perception and theologies of inherent imaging, perceivers become *part* of the chain of imaging. To produce images in cognition is to participate in and resemble the processes of creation, procreation, and re-presentation by which a subject is made in the image of God, parents, or soul; it is to *join* the chain of imaging that *is* identity. Imaged identity extends from image to image, inhering in every image it produces and that produces it, including the mental images of perception and memory.

Many philosophers figure perception's production of images in a rhetoric of painting: "a picture of an object . . . painted on the retina"; a "picture on the retina" produced by "the pencils of rays" (Dugald Stewart, *Philosophy of the Human Mind,* 1792, 1.97; *Moral Philosophy,* 1793, 3.387). The pictorial rhetoric of percep-

tion trickles down from philosophy into popular discourses, including encyclopedias, religious publications, school primers, and journals.[1] It also appears prominently in Gothic fiction, as chapter 7 expounds.

The iconology[2] of *picture identification*, however, is not simply the production of a single mental picture; it involves *the production of mimetic resemblance* between two images and the attachment of a proper name to those matched images. The proper name frequently opens a space for discourses about those images and that name.

Picture identification thus lies closer to memory than to perception. Memory serves as repository, frame, and gallery for mental portraits, retaining, shaping, ordering, and displaying them. As David Hume argues in 1739, "Memory not only discovers the identity but also contributes to its production by producing the relationship of resemblance among the perceptions in continuing association" (*A Treatise of Human Nature* 1.331). A rhetoric of portraiture inhabits philosophies of memory as well as those of perception. In 1758 Hume uses mimetic portraiture to illustrate his arguments about the role of resemblance in memory (*An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* 312). Stewart reverses the relation in 1792, arguing that it is memory that makes pictorial representation comprehensible: "When I think of any particular object which I have formerly perceived, such as a particular friend, . . . I can comprehend what is meant by a picture or representation of such" (*Philosophy of the Human Mind* 1.121). Gothic fiction represents the memory of a person *as* a portrait (e.g., "her picture in my memory" [Godwin, *St. Leon*, 1799, 2.130]). Thomas Dibdin makes memory an engraver of perceptual images as portraits: "Thy portrait memory will deep engrave" (1827, 2.101). Memory and portraiture, then, inversely, reciprocally, and cyclically construct each other's meanings in philosophy and popular discourses.

Beyond metaphorical and philosophical constructs, portraits serve more substantially and concretely as aide-mémoires in social and cultural contexts, raising the past images of memory in present imagination: "[T]he likeness [of a portrait] was so strong that it gave her instantly the idea of him as she remembered him"; "The imagination of Ethelinde had by the sudden sight of this picture powerfully recalled the recollection of her father" (Charlotte Turner Smith, *Ethelinde*, 1789, 5.209–10). Confusions between memory and portraits reinforce rather than undermine their cultural interchangeability: "She thought she ought to know the features; but whether it was from their resemblance to the portrait or to some person she had really seen, she could not recollect" (Sealy 1835, 131). Other texts interweave perception, memory, and portraiture even more complexly: "I gazed on this extraordinary man until his image was indelibly engraven on my organs of

vision; and, were I a portrait painter, I could paint his likeness from recollection" (Vedder 1832, 47). In *The Castle of Villeroy*, perception and memory combine to produce an actual portrait: "Amelina likewise painted from memory a miniature of Florello" (Kent 1827, 3.46).

Picture identification practices grow out of social recognition practices predicated on memory. Social recognition produces a mimetic resemblance between a presented face and a remembered face; picture identification produces a mimetic resemblance between a presented face and a represented face. In most cases, the match produces or verifies a proper name and other verbal descriptors of identity.

A great deal has been written regarding the authority of *verbal* discourse in legal and bureaucratic social identification. Seldom discussed, however, is the role that visual recognition plays in authenticating written documents in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the 1780s Briton Arthur Young was denied a passport in France because no one there had seen him before and therefore no one could "re-cognize" him. A French official maintained that "si vous êtes inconnu à Besançon vous ne pouvez avoir de passport" (since no one knows you in Besançon, you may not have a passport). When Young insisted that his letters of introduction should suffice, the official countered: "Il me faut des gens, et non pas des lettres pour m'expliquer qui vous êtes; ces lettres ne me valent rien" (I require people, not letters, to explain to me who you are. These letters mean nothing to me) (1.148). Louis XVI's near escape from Paris (addressed in chapter 3) had highlighted the inefficacy of words and official documents to represent identity. Such incidents underscore the double resonance of "recognition" as a process of visual identification and social validation.

Portraits are deemed to offer more stable, objectified, communal memories than private memories, as their memorial functions across many cultures and epochs attest (Walker 1; Breckenridge 7; West, *Portraiture* 63). Whereas in small, stable communities, almost everyone can be recognized by almost everyone else, in Gothic fiction, as in the societies that produced it, social recognition becomes increasingly difficult as populations expand, move, and grow denser. In large or unstable communities, social identification is no longer a matter of general consensus; it becomes partial, fragmented, and contested. Memory is no longer a communal affair; those who remember (typically aged servants in Gothic fiction) are dying out. Dispersed families, long separations, age, decay, disguise, and disfigurement preclude personal recognition even of one's most intimate relations. Former spouses pass each other unaware in Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian* (1797), their faces shrouded by a monk's cowl and a nun's veil. Passing time and geographic mobility continually cast new, unknown faces before Gothic

heroes and heroines. The heroine of Charlotte Turner Smith's *Montalbert* (1795) "saw new faces arrive at the place every day"—faces without names, faces preceding names (3.132). Faces then, as now, are easier to recall than names:[3] "I have often seen that lady; it is, I think, a face familiar to me in public places; I cannot, at this moment, recollect her name" (3.118–9). As a result, portraits serve increasingly as public, communal, and official "memories" of social identity. Hartley Coleridge writes:

> The fact is that the representative image, the impression on the brain, which corresponds with each person of our acquaintance, is abstracted from many continuous or successive acts of vision and may probably be different in different individuals, according to the perfection of their organs. But as the substratum to these uncertain representatives, there must be an intelligible and therefore communicable form which the portrait painter transfers to the canvas. (1832, 33)

In 1831 Anna Maria Winter argues that portraiture shifts social recognition from private to public knowledge, enabling social discourses on portraits *as* cultural memories. Such discourses depend upon a mimetic realist aesthetic: "In regard to paintings of familiar subjects, particularly portraits, we require an exact representation of the original rather than of a beau ideal." Winter continues:

> However, even portraits are not meant to raise an illusion in our mind as if the original were present, which illusion would be the mark of their perfection, if their design were literally to re-produce his figure. They are intended, as it seems to me, *to give a visible and exact form to the images left in our memory by his appearance*, if we knew him; or, if we take interest in him *without having known him*, to let us have the satisfaction of *depositing in our memory images that resemble him*. The original of the portrait being indeed always the object whose features it represents, we are naturally led to think that the use of it is to make him appear present though he be absent. (1.290–1, emphasis added)

Portraits are to construct cultural memories of those we know *and those we do not*. Picture identification does not require knowledge of the person it represents. The fleeing Louis XVI was identified by a man who had never seen him before through the resemblance of the king's face to its representation on French money. Similarly, characters in *The Castle of Otranto* perceive that a young peasant resembles the portrait of a long-dead prince without prior personal knowledge of either man.

Connections between memory and picture identification create a new kind of knowledge powerful in middle-class reworkings of social identity and valued

in the revisionist histories of print galleries and Gothic fiction. Discourses upon portraits offer more control than identifications of mobile, speaking, living persons. Frozen images, with no embodied counterparts or personal memories of such bodies to contradict printed discourses upon them, hold immense authority in reworking social identification and social knowledge.

Michel Foucault has demonstrated the many interconnections of power and knowledge, arguing

> that power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power or by applying it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations. (*Discipline and Punish* 27)

Centuries before Locke and Foucault, portraits were sites of perception, knowledge, and power. Woodall attests that "an understanding of portraits as direct substitutes for their sitters meant that the circulation of portraits could mirror and expand the system of personal patronage whereby power, privilege, and wealth were distributed" (3). My research focuses not so much on the knowledge, power, and authority gained and maintained by those represented in portraits as on the knowledge, power, and authority that portraits grant to their perceivers. Iconologies of picture identification work generally and pervasively in the period, I argue, to relocate the authority of portraiture from the ruling classes represented by portraits and their official circulators to ordinary viewers of portraits.

The downward mobility of picture identification addressed in chapter 3 extends from those identified *by* portraits to those identifying portraits. A reviewer of Edinburgh's third art exhibition opines that "the most uneducated mind can judge of a likeness" ("A Critical Account of the Third Exhibition," 1810, 52). Those who cannot process arbitrary phonetic symbols can recognize mimetic ones. Although social identification has been variably but consistently bound to bodies throughout documented history, John Torpey records a post-Enlightenment shift that "cast into disfavor older habits of 'writing on the body,' such as branding, scarification, and tattooing, as well as dress codes to identify persons" (17). The body was to be written mimetically rather than written upon. However, it was not simply Enlightenment humanism dictating the preference. Branding, tattoos, and their accidental counterparts, scars and birthmarks, are symbolic rather than mimetic signs; they appear on the body without any resemblance to it. In Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), Father Jerome recognizes his adult son, lost since infancy, by a birthmark; in Francis Lathom's *Italian Mysteries* (1820),

an uncle recognizes the scars he inflicted on the neck of his infant niece, now a woman. But they can do so only because they have seen these marks before; they are symbolic signifiers illegible to anyone lacking prior knowledge of their inscription.

In *Otranto*, Theodore's picture identification contradicts official, verbal knowledge that the prince "had unquestionably died without issue" (167). What cannot be questioned in words can be refuted by matched images, which produce new, revolutionary discourses, challenging class hierarchies when a peasant resembles a prince.

The intersemiotics of picture identification are also revolutionary in promoting literacy among the underclasses. When words and pictures appear together, pictures teach verbal literacy. Those who could not afford or read print media stood before print shop windows, where the literate read aloud to them (Tamara L. Hunt 13). By 1819, Vox Humanitatis asserts that "reading has become general, even among the lowest of the people." Picture identification has also gained a sharp political edge. Praising both the free press and "Caricature, a scion of the press," Vox Humanitatis hails "the mob at a shop window, smiling at [a political] caricature" (285).

The downward mobility of picture identification extends to the very youngest in "On Teaching by Pictures" (1834). The essay recommends illustrated texts for teaching literacy to children, claiming that under this method a boy "not yet two . . . has been able to name and distinguish by form every animal, plant, statue, and portrait in the first volume of the *Penny Magazine*." The essay attends particularly to the child's facility with picture identification: "[H]e pointed out to me by name first Christ, then Peter (remarking that he was kneeling with the keys), and then several other disciples, Matthew, John, James, and Judas." Even at such a young age, the boy has imbibed cultural narratives and values: "[H]e prefers the heads of celebrated persons . . . occasionally making remarks (where he has received information) upon the[ir] character[s] . . . such as 'Dr. Johnson, very rude man'" (264–5). Picture identification here allows for a much earlier inculcation of cultural ideologies than purely verbal discourses.

The downward mobility of literacy enabled by picture identification aims to universalize cultural ideologies and social identification practices in the period. Many writers figure face reading as a place of universal literacy. "Physiognomonical sensation" (defined as "those feelings which are produced at beholding certain countenances, and the conjectures concerning the qualities of the mind, which are produced by the state of such countenances"), Lavater insists, is "like sight and hearing . . . born with all" (*Essays* 1.64). Stewart extends the legibility

of faces to dogs: "Nay, there is even good reason to think that some of the lower animals, particularly dogs, understand the natural language of the human face and that, in fact, they are great physiognomists" (*Moral Philosophy,* 1793, 267).

Lavater claims not only universal literacy but also universal iconology for face reading: "Let the countenances of the good and the wicked . . . be taken and shown to a child, a peasant, a connoisseur, or to any indifferent person . . . it will be seen that child, peasant, and connoisseur will agree in pronouncing the same countenance most beautiful, the same most deformed" (*Physiognomy* 180). As we have seen, Lavater's system of physiognomy is by no means neutral but strongly inflected with bourgeois, male, Protestant, European, late eighteenth-century agendas. These are, however, promoted as universal values. While, on the surface, Lavater's is a democratizing iconology, equating the literacy of peasants with that of connoisseurs, it nevertheless forges hierarchies among readers, placing the natural physiognomist at the bottom ("whoever forms a right judgment of the character of man from . . . his exterior"), the scientific physiognomist in the middle ("he who can arrange and accurately define the exterior traits"), and himself, the philosophical physiognomist, at the top ("he who is capable of developing the principles of these exterior traits") (*Essays* 1.19–20).

GOTHIC ICONOLOGIES OF PICTURE IDENTIFICATION

Gothic fiction presents a more radical revolution in iconology than Lavater's or those of other bourgeois male writers. In many Gothic novels, the chief authority of picture identification lies not with those who have commissioned or are represented by portraits, nor with the rulers and bureaucrats who possess and circulate them, nor with the professional, religious, or educated men who seek to interpret them, but with dependent women and low-ranking viewers of portraits. It is these viewers, not educated bourgeois men, who produce the most incisive, authentic, and revolutionary picture identifications.

In contrast to the prevailing opinion that mimetic representation always already fosters a naïve realism invariably enabling patriarchal oppression, the picture identification of mimetic portraits in Gothic fiction brings about a revolutionary shift in the authority underpinning social identification practices. Middle-class iconology works against aristocratic iconography to reidentify those in power as unworthy of power; picture identification works against official modes and narratives of social identification to recover the identities that they have hidden, lost, or falsified by prevailing power structures and to identify those as holding power as unworthy of it, as we have seen.

Beyond such tendencies, portraits in Gothic fiction often lie outside of patriarchal authority, scrutiny, and directives, revealing knowledge withheld by patriarchal agendas and decrees. Although in Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) Emily's father has ordered all letters and documents identifying his sister to be destroyed, and although Emily has dutifully done so, "St. Aubert had given no directions concerning this picture, nor had even named it; she, therefore, thought herself justified in preserving it" (1.277). Unnamed, unspecified by patriarchal directives, the woman's portrait is released into a domain outside of patriarchal control, where it offsets and supersedes official modes of identification and, granting epistemological and identificatory power to those under patriarchal rule, foils patriarchal agendas.[4] That Emily's father is a benevolent middle-class man, not a tyrannical aristocrat, renders picture identification's attack on patriarchal power global, unconstrained by class or morality.

More than this, face reading, both live and painted, remains throughout the nineteenth century an area of literacy in which women were deemed to, allowed to, and *expected* to excel men. Patriarchs, handicapped by an overdependence on words, which Gothic fiction frequently demonstrates to be lacking and deceptive, are less skilled in facial literacy, as Lady Sydney Morgan's *Florence Macarthy* (1818) illustrates: "[F]rom her description alone I should have known you among a thousand. Nay, I did instantly recognize you from the picture she had drawn, even before you were announced in the hall of Dunore. So much for the rapidity of a woman's perceptions, the fidelity of a woman's memory" (4.89). By contrast, the man thus identified cannot identify the woman who has identified him. She is "a woman I scarcely looked upon! whom I might not even again recognize!" (4.88).

In *The Castle of Otranto*, those holding power are rarely the first to make a picture identification and often the last to cede to its authority. The first person to identify the resemblance between the apparent peasant, Theodore, and the portrait of Prince Alfonso is a young princess:

> His person was noble, handsome, and commanding, even in that situation; but his countenance soon engrossed her whole care.
>
> "Heavens! Bianca," said the princess softly, "do I dream? or is not that youth the exact resemblance of Alfonso's picture in the gallery?" (78)

Patriarchal discourse immediately drowns out her picture identification: "She could say no more, for her father's voice grew louder at every word" (78). But when her father, Prince Manfred, commands the youth to identify himself—"Tell me, tell me, rash boy, who thou art, or the rack shall force thy secret from thee" (79)—authoritative commands and threats of violence prove futile: "Thou

has threatened me with death already . . . I am not tempted to indulge thy vain curiosity farther." When Manfred threatens "to see [the boy's] head severed from his body," he intriguingly and violently reverberates the princess's identificatory decapitation of Theodore; only here it marks his *failure* to identify (79). Manfred is a poor social identifier generally. His failure to identify his own daughter leads to his inadvertent murder of her and the extinction of his line.

It is not, however, solely usurping patriarchs who fail at social identification; the legitimate heir, Theodore, also fails to differentiate between this princess and another. Here too the power of picture identification belongs to dependent women rather than men, regardless of their virtue.

Picture identification is not simply an epistemology favoring the lesser-valued gender; it equally favors the underclasses. It is a young servant girl who first identifies Theodore as prince: "I was sure he was some prince in disguise" (61). She is also the first to communicate Theodore's picture identification to Manfred:

> "Theodore, to be sure, is a proper young man and, as my Lady Matilda says, the very image of good Alfonso. Has not your Highness remarked it?"
>
> "Yes, yes,—No—thou torturest me," said Manfred. (171)

A servant's picture identification here takes metaphorical and psychological revenge, torturing Manfred as Manfred has threatened to torture Theodore. Assenting to a servant's picture identification disturbs Manfred more than the knowledge that the church and another prince are allied against him: "Still more was he troubled with the resemblance of Theodore to Alfonso's portrait" (167). The servant also conveys subversive public opinion to Manfred: "There is not a soul in the castle but would be rejoiced to have [Theodore] for our prince" (172).

In subsequent Gothic fiction, aged servants are primary authorities of picture identification, bridging the gap between an older generation that uses personal recognition to identify and a new generation learning to use picture identification. In Clara Reeve's *The Old English Baron* (1777), an old servant, "a man of few words, but much reflection" (34), is the first to pronounce "the striking resemblance this young man bears to my dear Lord" (82) and to lead him to the portrait of his father, where the youth admits that "I am . . . struck with the resemblance myself" (84). Elsewhere in the novel, a knight returning from battle to reclaim his family seat is "obliged to prove the reality of his claim and the identity of his person (by the testimony of some of the old servants of his family)" (3). Although this text places servant testimonies in parentheses, later texts foreground it.

Between *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) and *The Italian* (1797), Ann Radcliffe constructs a retroactive bridge between personal memory and picture identifi-

cation. In *The Italian*, a trusty old female servant identifies her disguised and aliased mistress through personal recognition; in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, the trusty old female servant (Dorothée) identifies her dead mistress by matching her memory of her to her portrait. In order to affirm the resemblance between memory and portraiture, Dorothée must first establish the mimetic likeness of both. She confirms the reliability of her memory and its mimetic properties: "I remember everything that happened then, as if it was but yesterday. Many things that have passed of late years are gone quite from my memory, while those so long ago I can see as if in a glass" (3.408–9). Painting and mirrors have long been connected in aesthetic discourse, most famously in Leonardo da Vinci's recommendation that painters learn from mirrors (Ilardi 191–2). Capturing moving images grants mirrors a mimetic advantage over portraits. Even so, they capture only the present, whereas portraits capture the otherwise invisible past.

In order to match memory and portrait, Dorothée must also establish the mimetic likeness of the portrait. When Emily "enquire[s] whether Dorothée was certain the picture resembled the late marchioness," she affirms that it does: "[H]ow came it to strike me so, the instant I saw it, if it was not my lady's likeness?" (3.425). The word *likeness* resonates doubly as a synonym for portrait and resemblance, tying the three terms together. Like memory, portraits carry past images into the present. (Hume had inquired influentially, "[W]hat is the memory but a faculty by which we raise up the images of past perceptions?" [*A Treatise of Human Nature* 1.331]).

Dorothée then places picture identification on a par with live eyewitness testimony when she declares of the portrait: "It is herself . . . her very self! . . . That picture . . . it is my blessed mistress herself!" (3.424). This is the rhetoric used in *The Old English Baron* for live eyewitness identification: "Take off your helmet, said he: look on that youth; he is the son of your injured kinsman.—It is himself, said the Lord Lovel, and fainted away" (169). In both passages, as the mental images of memory pull the past into the present, so does the rhetoric. In order to link picture identification to eyewitness testimony, Dorothée ricochets between verb tenses, between a rhetoric of identity and a rhetoric of mimesis, and between a rhetoric of memory and a rhetoric of presence: " 'Ah!' added she, taking up the miniature, 'these *are* her own blue eyes—looking so sweet and so mild; and there *is* her very look, such as I *have* often *seen* it' " (3.424–5, emphasis added). The shift between tenses forges a continuum between personal recognition and picture identification, conferring the old servant's conventional trustworthiness onto the portrait and transferring her private cognition onto a public image. The present

tense both resurrects the dead woman and animates the portrait. In *The Old English Baron*, such bringing of the past into the present topples a lord.

Critics have addressed the power afforded Gothic heroines by Romantic imagination and poetic composition, but they have rarely discussed the power granted them by picture identification. If knowledge is power, then viewing, interpreting, and judging portraits establish places of power for Gothic heroines. As portraits extend and circulate royal, aristocratic, political, and professional identities beyond bodies in coins, medals, diplomatic portraits, and print media, so too they bring knowledge and power to readers limited geographically, economically, and educationally, granting them access to pasts and spaces they have never inhabited. In Sophia Lee's *The Recess* (1783–5), two sisters, secreted in a tiny room, deprived of liberty and books, nevertheless "walked arm in arm round and moralized on every portrait" (1.9). Picture identification subjects the great and celebrated to the moral assessments of viewers.

The power of portraits to identify lies as much in the kinds of knowledge they preclude as in those they convey, lending them a countercultural and oppositional stance. Portraits foreclose on the verbal self-representations of their sitters; their silences let them be spoken. Portraits arrest mobile and theatrical identities and rob them of their slippery, elusive power.

James D. Breckenridge attests that portrait historians "usually establish the identity of images of someone like Julius Caesar by comparing portraits, coins, [and] sculptures" (4). Granger's preface to his phenomenally popular, multivolume collection of engraved portraits, *A Biographical History of England* (1760), makes a similar claim: "[B]y comparing the several portraits, the true likeness may with more certainty be determined" (xxii). We have seen that *The Orphan of the Rhine*'s heroine makes such a picture identification of her dead mother by matching two portraits of her and, by extension, identifies her own aristocratic entitlement. *The Mysteries of Udolpho*'s heroine similarly matches portraits to picture-identify two women. One of the women Emily identifies through matched portraits is her aunt, a bourgeois woman who married into the aristocracy and was murdered by her husband's lover. The other is her murderer. Before Emily discovers their identities or learns their narratives, her physiognomic identifications of their portraits validate the virtue and pathos of the former and the villainy and pride of the latter. Of her aunt's portrait, she assesses that "the countenance . . . was of uncommon beauty and was characterized by an expression of sweetness, shaded with sorrow and tempered by resignation" (1.277). Here and throughout Gothic fiction, picture identifications of beautiful, sweet, melancholy

women forge mute protests against aristocratic patriarchal tyranny. Encountering the portrait of her aunt's murderer, Emily reads it in binary opposition to her aunt's:

> Emily advanced and surveyed the picture. It represented a lady in the flower of youth and beauty; her features were handsome and noble, full of strong expression, but had little of the captivating sweetness that Emily had looked for and still less of the pensive mildness she loved. It was a countenance which spoke the language of passion rather than that of sentiment: a haughty impatience of misfortune—not the placid melancholy of a spirit injured, yet resigned. (2.310)

Although the *content* of both picture identifications is utterly conventional, the *act* of picture identification is not. Picture identification allows the middle-class Emily to pass judgment on two higher-ranked women. Her identification ignores the body of Laurentini's full-length portrait and the dress, ornaments, props, and propertied settings that forge an iconography of aristocratic entitlement.[5] Reading only the woman's naked face, Emily iconotropically decapitates the entitled body, subjecting it to bourgeois iconologies.

Whereas picture identification *of* Emily disempowers her, picture identification *by* Emily empowers her. When the murderer subsequently identifies Emily by Emily's resemblance to her aunt's portrait, she aligns Emily with her traits of meek, melancholy resignation and a status of victimhood:

> "Bring me that casket, sister," said Agnes; "I will show her to you; yet you need only look in that mirror and you will behold her; you surely are her daughter: such striking resemblance is never found but among near relations."
>
> The nun brought the casket and Agnes, having directed her how to unlock it, she took thence a miniature, in which Emily perceived the exact resemblance of the picture which she had found among her late father's papers. (4.354)

But even as Emily is being picture-identified according to passive stereotypes, she is making her own active picture identification of the portrait, which challenges the picture identification being made of her. Emily's sleuthlike matching of two portraits expands her knowledge and power, allowing her to expose her aunt's murderer, formerly Lady Laurentini, now disguised as the nun Agnes. No one in the convent knows her former identity. Years of moral and physical decay have eradicated any resemblance between her face and her portraits. But Emily identifies her by comparing two portraits, one that represents Lady Laurentini, the other representing the nun, Agnes. Thus when Agnes/Laurentini hands Emily a miniature portrait of herself, challenging: "Look well at this picture and see if

you can discover any resemblance between what I was and what I am" (4.355–6), Emily violates all expectations, responding: "This face is familiar to me."

> "You are mistaken," replied Agnes, "you certainly never saw that picture before."
>
> "No," replied Emily, "but I have seen one extremely like it."
>
> "Impossible," said *Agnes, who may now be called the Lady Laurentini*. . . .
>
> She sighed deeply and, after the pause of a moment, asked Emily by what means she had discovered her name?
>
> "By your portrait in the castle of Udolpho, to which this miniature bears a striking resemblance," replied Emily. (4.359–60, emphasis added)

At this moment, even the omniscient narrator cedes to Emily's identification and restores the nun's real name. Emily's picture identification of Agnes as Laurentini furthermore elicits Laurentini's personal narrative and confession. Picture identification's power of knowledge extends to economics when Laurentini leaves her fortune to Emily as penance for murdering the woman with whom she picture-identifies Emily.

As a second portrait takes precedence over a live face and as the relationship between two representations takes precedence over the relationship between a live face and either representation, the authority of representation over what is represented becomes extreme and supreme. Moreover, the authority of the younger woman making the picture identification takes precedence over the older woman's false identification of herself and over society's identification of her. Here we see the power of iconology to challenge and change social identity, not simply to affirm and verify it. Again, such identifications reinforce the authority of the iconologist over the whole chain of images.

The role of housekeepers and bourgeois heroines as authoritative picture-identifiers is not solely a Gothic convention. In spite of Jane Austen's parody of numerous Gothic conventions in *Northanger Abbey* (1817)[6] including a passage in which "Dorothy the ancient housekeeper" hypothetically leads the heroine into a room, "its walls hung with tapestry exhibiting figures as large as life . . . and over the fire-place the portrait of some handsome warrior" (128), it is an ancient housekeeper's picture identification of Darcy in *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) that turns the tide of the heroine's romantic inclinations and prejudices and the heroine's own picture identification of Darcy that completes the conversion. Elizabeth has seen and conversed with Darcy in various social contexts. She has heard him speak publicly and has listened to his private expressions of desire; she has read a letter detailing his motives and unseen actions. Conventionally, private conversations and epistolary explanations clear up misleading appearances in fiction.

But while Darcy's letter has softened Elizabeth's judgment, it has not made her regret rejecting his marriage proposal, nor, despite her subsequent jest to Jane, has her visit to Pemberley. Her prejudices incontestably remain in the wake of both, since, even after reading his letter many times and admiring the grounds at Pemberley, the housekeeper's praise of Darcy remains "most opposite to her ideas" (238). The housekeeper's praise, declaimed over a miniature portrait of Darcy, forges a narrative picture identification of the man. Affirming the miniature as his and its likeness to her memory of him ("That . . . is my master—and very like him" [237]), she identifies his character ("good-natured . . . sweet-tempered . . . generous-hearted" [238]) and social performance ("the best landlord and the best master" [239]), confirming her account as true and universal among those who know and depend upon him ("I say no more than the truth and everybody will say that knows him . . . there is not one of his tenants or servants but will give him a good name" [238]). After Elizabeth and her relatives raise and reject hypotheses that might render this picture identification unreliable, they pronounce it authentic and authoritative.

However, Elizabeth's change of heart and mind is not complete until she constructs her own picture identification of Darcy. Standing alone before his full-length portrait,

> she beheld a striking resemblance to Mr. Darcy, with such a smile over the face as she remembered to have sometimes seen when he looked at her. . . . There was certainly at this moment, in Elizabeth's mind, a more gentle sensation towards the original than she had ever felt at the height of their acquaintance. The commendation bestowed on him by Mrs. Reynolds was of no trifling nature. What praise is more valuable than the praise of an intelligent servant? . . . Every idea that had been brought forward by the housekeeper was favorable to his character and, as she stood before the canvas on which he was represented and fixed his eyes upon herself, she thought of his regard with a deeper sentiment of gratitude than it had ever raised before. (240)

As the last clause makes clear, it is her own picture identification of Darcy that alters Elizabeth's opinions of and sentiments toward him. When Darcy himself appears immediately afterward, he seems utterly changed: "Why is he so altered? From what can it proceed?" (244). He has been "altered" by picture identification. Initially struck by the resemblance of the picture to him, she is now struck by "his resemblance to the picture they had just been examining" (241). The representation in this encounter takes priority over the live body; the portrait identifies Darcy after the man himself has failed to do so.

Picture identification frees Elizabeth, not only from her prejudices but also from social conventions that would prevent her from gaining such knowledge firsthand. It allows her to scrutinize the face and gaze lingeringly into the eyes of a man at whom she may only look at circumspectly in the flesh. Indeed, in the live encounter that ensues, Elizabeth "scarcely dared lift her eyes to his face" (241).

The encounter suggests the superiority of picture identification to personal recognition. As Jacques Derrida argues that a representation can take priority over what it represents ("the image supervenes upon reality, the representation upon the present in presentation, the imitation upon the thing, the imitator upon the imitated" [*Acts of Literature* 140]), so too do eighteenth- and nineteenth-century authors, albeit in support of the very metaphysical concepts that Derrida opposes. In 1719 Jonathan Richardson insists that good portraiture is superior to vision in producing social identification: "[I]n a good portrait . . . we conceive a better opinion of the beauty, good sense, breeding, and other good qualities of the person than from seeing themselves" (13). In 1778 Lavater asserts similarly: "[I]t is to me indisputable that a better knowledge of man may be obtained from portraits than from nature, she being thus uncertain, thus fugitive" (*Essays* 2.75). In 1830 William Pinnock figures portraiture as a mode in which "men of genius" can make visible what is invisible to "ordinary observers":

> Although portrait painting may not deserve to be ranked among the higher branches of the art, it requires no mean abilities to excel in it. The human face is the index of the mind and, while there are many artists who can succeed in copying the features so as to produce a recognizable likeness, none but men of genius can transmit to the canvas the speaking eye, the benevolent smile, the malignant scowl, the crafty or malicious leer; in short, the thousand evanescent expressions which display the mind and which, to an ordinary observer, are scarcely or not at all visible. (*Iconology* 181–2)

In Gothic fiction, picture identification is deemed less prejudiced and more empirical than personal recognition: "As a proof that my judgment in this instance is not biased by prejudice, the resemblance struck me when I was in Savoy, though I knew the Marchioness only by her portrait" (Radcliffe, *Romance of the Forest* 3.314).

Portraits are further considered superior to memory: "Valancourt, as he gazed on her, considered that it would soon be impossible for him to recall, even to his memory, the exact resemblance of the beautiful countenance he then beheld" (*Udolpho* 1.291). When memory fails, portraits compensate. In *The Black Robber*

(1819), a woman gives her suitor her miniature portrait "to remind you of its original during our necessary separation from each other" (2:339). In Elizabeth Helme's *Louisa* (1787), Lady Melville commands: "Louisa and Julia shall exchange portraits before they part" (1.151).

Separation highlights the role of portraits in maintaining bonds and fixing identities amid change and mobility. Portraits furthermore offer fixed points of knowledge and affect that withstand narrative flux and social change, including the unstable behaviors of their "originals." A heroine in Charlotte Turner Smith's *Montalbert* (1795)

> took out the picture he had given her and, for the third time since it had been in her possession, fixed her eyes earnestly upon it. The candor and integrity of the countenance struck her particularly. "Never, (sighed she), can the heart that belongs to these features be otherwise than generous, tender, and sincere." (1.116)

Her reading of the portrait gives her a fixed point of knowledge from which to resist and reject other representations bringing contrary information of his infidelity. Her triumph, then, is less one of romantic constancy than of picture identification over other epistemologies.

Portraits can even stand in for nonexistent memories. One Gothic heroine "wept over the resemblance of her mother! Deprived of a mother's tenderness before she was sensible of its value, it was now only that she mourned the event which lamentation could not recall" (Radcliffe, *A Sicilian Romance*, 1790, 1.63). Portraits trump memory by looking *forward* as well as back; memory of a portrait can offer preemptive knowledge of identity:

> "I knew him before Mr. Jenkings pronounced his name, by the strong likeness of his picture." (Gunning, *Barford Abbey*, 1768, 1.103)

> "I did instantly recognize you from the picture she had drawn, even before you were announced." (Morgan, *Florence Macarthy*, 1818, 4.88)

> "I have brought this likeness, that she may know him when they meet." (Helme, *Louisa*, 1787, 1.145)

Such foreknowledge grants viewers of portraits a distinct advantage over their sitters.

The authority of picture identification extends from housekeepers and heroines to readers and from Gothic prose to Gothic illustrations. Catherine G. Ward's *The Orphan Boy* (1821) marks the downward and outward mobility of picture iden-

tification from a count to his social circle to ordinary readers of the novel in which he appears. The count attests to "the almost perfect resemblance [a heroine's] features bear to a dear lamented object, whom time can never efface from my recollection." He immediately makes his private memory public through portraiture: "[C]ount Rosalvie took from his breast a miniature picture . . . 'Here, here, my friends . . . behold the features of her mother. Can there exist a more perfect resemblance?'" The omniscient narrator, occupying a liminal space between diegetic and extradiegetic realms, affirms the identification for readers: "The features of the countess and those represented in the lovely portrait of the unfortunate Laura were the same" (378–80). An illustration of the woman looking at her mother's portrait allows readers to make their own picture identification (fig. 6.1).

Periodical reviews call similarly upon readers to make their own picture identifications. When a new volume of Lodge's *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain* was published in 1832, the *Leeds Mercury* urges "the student of history" to produce his own aesthetic and physiognomical readings of the portraits:

> To the student of history, especially if he have a taste for the fine arts and for physiognomy, this work will be a mine of gratification. The portraits are the best that exist and all authentic, and they are engraved by the first artists; they present the lineaments of the greatest statesmen, patriots, philosophers, military and naval commanders who have adorned this country for more than three centuries, and it need scarcely be added that they contain the choicest specimens of manly beauty and countenances beaming with the light of genius and expressive of all the noble qualities of mind and soul. ("Portraits and Memoirs")

Yet picture identifications by the ordinary and underclasses as often attack as affirm socially valorized identities. In contrast to fictive housekeepers who maintain the memories and portraits of aristocrats in pristine condition, the housekeeper in *Florence Macarthy* is contemptuous of aristocrats and their portraits, as chapter 5 attests. She has not even cared for portraits as domestic objects, but has pressed them into domestic service as window boards and hearth screens, adding discursive insult to material injury, reducing proper names and titles to contemptuous common nouns—"a parcel of rakes and harlots!"—and envisioning their inherent souls in hell "paying for their scarlet and fine linen" (1.217). The visitors to whom she directs her comments amplify her iconotropic picture identifications:

> De Vere, gazing earnestly upon the picture of the beautiful Duchess of Cleveland [said:] "There is something in the swimming eyes and thick lips of the beauties of

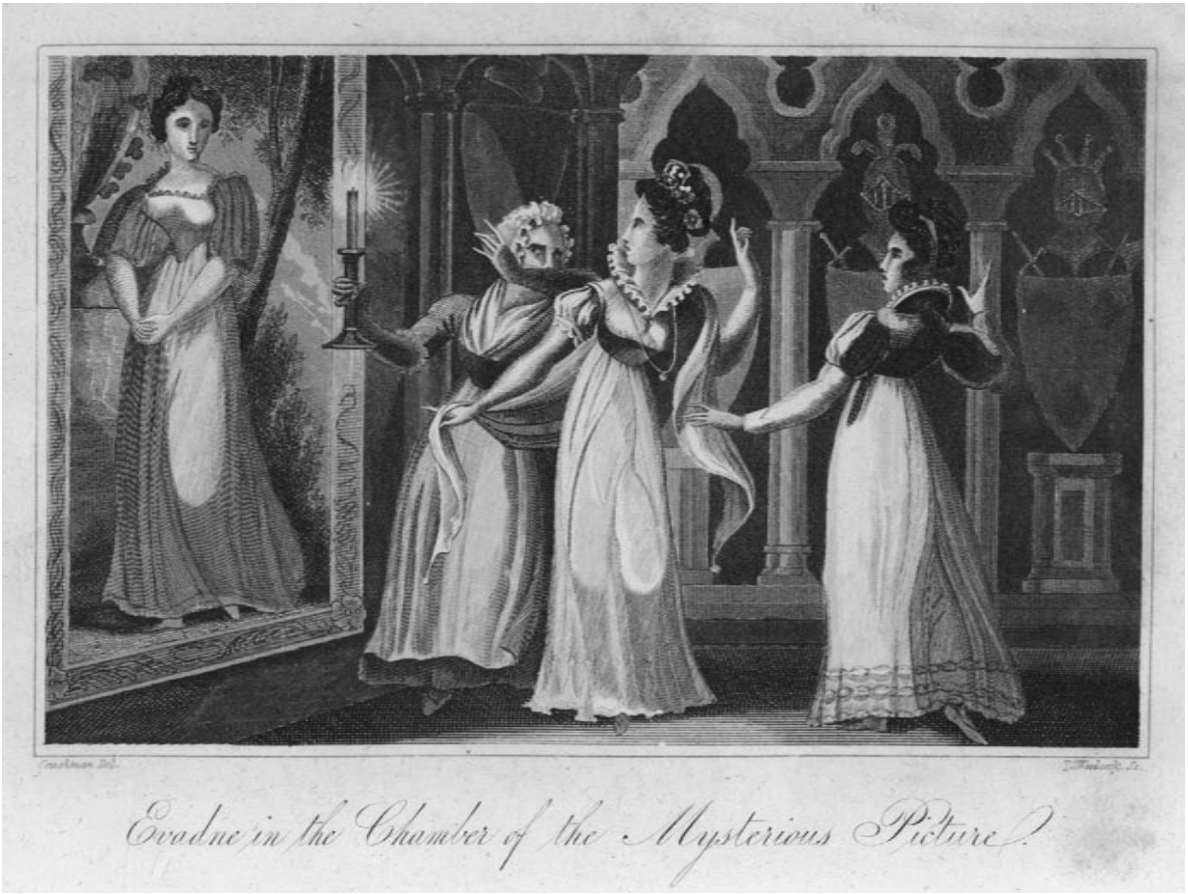

Figure 6.1. "Evadne in the Chamber of the Mysterious Picture." Catherine G. Ward, *The Orphan Boy; or, The Test of Innocence*. New York: T. Kinnersley, 1821. 18495.3.3.70, Widener Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

> those times, a charming un-idea'd sameness of physiognomy, that is now lost in the female face."
>
> "Mental cultivation most diversifies the countenance," replied the Commodore. "In barbarous nations there is but one physiognomy for a tribe: where there is little intellect, there can be but little variety of expression." (1.217–8)

Equated with inbred "barbarous nations," aristocratic physiognomy is pronounced mindless and monochrome, lacking both the mental acuity and individuation prized by the bourgeoisie. Gothic picture identification mounts other attacks on authority through undermining its modes of producing and consuming knowledge. The next chapter examines how the intersemiotics of picture identification challenge and rework cultural epistemologies.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Pictures Identifying

INTERSEMIOSIS Meaning across language, visual imagery, and symbolism.

—Kay L. O'Halloran, *Mathematical Discourse: Language, Symbolism and Visual Images* (2005, 158)

We do not hesitate to express our opinion that history must be better understood, and it will certainly be remembered with more vivid and distinct impressions, by him who has an opportunity of seeing authentic portraits of its principal characters than by another who is deprived of that advantage. There are minute traits and delicate shades of mental and moral character which may be more correctly estimated on seeing the countenance than they can be from a mere perusal of what the individual has written, said, or done.

—"Portraits and Memoirs of the Most Illustrious Personages of British History" (1832, n.p.)

Everybody will readily admit that accurate representations of many objects are essential to the right understanding of what we read: they are as necessary accompaniments to treatises on many branches of science or art as maps are when we study geography or history.

—"On Teaching by Pictures" (1834, 267)

Picture identification runs not only between the writing and reading of portraits but also between the words and images *within* portraits, establishing social identity intersemiotically. While the picaresque novel *Gil Blas* (1715–35) declares that "neither the picture nor the letters will convince me" (Le Sage 2.217, Smollett's translation), a miniature portrait and letter are tantamount to legal proof of identity in Lister's *Veronica; or, The Mysterious Stranger* (1798): they are "the only certificate which I can produce of my birth" (2.63).

As Rovee's study of British portrait galleries between 1768 and 1832 rightly observes, "Portraiture flourished . . . as a flexible discourse spanning the visual and verbal divide" (3). However, picture identification does more than span the visual and verbal; it constructs complex relations *between* the visual and verbal that challenge epistemologies of social identification and redistribute social and economic power. Rovee's disregard for formal differences (a disregard shared by Elizabeth A. Fay and Susan Stewart) illuminates the shared aspects of the visual and verbal, while obscuring their collaborations and oppositions.

"The history of culture," W. J. T. Mitchell has argued influentially, "is in part the story of a protracted struggle for dominance between pictorial and linguistic signs" (43). I have addressed struggles for dominance between words and images within the intersemiotic forms of illustrated novels and worded films (*Rethinking the Novel/Film Debate*). There are similar battles between the words and images of picture identification: battles between names and faces, battles between narratives and portraits, and battles between symbolic and mimetic modes of representation. All of these enter the larger class war over iconologies of identity.

Intersemiotics are central to dominant Western epistemologies. As I observe in *Rethinking the Novel/Film Debate*, "Both Judeo-Christian theologies of truth and scientific empirical models of proof place images in the service of words, affirming and confirming verbal dogmas and hypotheses" (196). Picture identification is often read as a form in which images prove the truth of words: most commonly, the mimetic match of two faces proves the truth claim of a proper name. The name serves as verbal hypothesis; mimetically matched faces function as evidence, producing the repetition required by empirical epistemologies. Elizabeth Bonhote's *Bungay Castle* (1796) illustrates how the priority of face matching over verbal identification unfolds in Gothic fiction: "So many corroborating and convincing testimonies of his identity would have banished doubt, had any doubt remained, but truth and nature were too prevailing to be disputed; the countenance of Walter was, unsupported with farther evidence, sufficient to prove him the son of Lady Isabella" (182). The priority of face matching derives in part from

its alignment with "truth and nature." In Gothic fiction, face matching naturalizes inherited social identities when resembling family faces are attached to resembling family names, titles, fortunes, and property. Edmund Lodge extends naturalization from faces to picture identification when he expects his *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain, with Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Their Lives and Actions* "to give to biography and portraits, by uniting them, what may very properly be called their best natural effect" (vi).

However, the two major philosophies informing Western portraiture (Judeo-Christian creation theology and classical physiognomy) set words and images at odds, and, though they collude in other ways, their word and image hierarchies differ markedly. In Genesis, man is made *by* the *word* of God *in* the *image* of God. The word takes priority, constructing and preceding the *imago dei*. The word is creative agency; the image is its product. As chapter 5 makes clear, throughout the Hebrew scriptures and in battles between Protestants and Catholics in England, graven images are set in opposition to the divine word. Somewhat anomalously in the New Testament, Hebrews 10:1 figures the word as a shadow that does not amount to an image: "the law having a shadow of good things to come and not the very image of the things" (KJV). However, in the majority of Christian theology, the word not only constructs, dominates, and opposes the image but further usurps and overrides the image *with itself*. Irenaeus is illustrative:

> For in times long past, it was said that man was created after the image of God, but it was not shown; for the Word was as yet invisible, after whose image man was created, wherefore also he did easily lose the similitude. When, however, the Word of God became flesh, He confirmed both of these: for He both showed forth the image truly, since He became Himself what was His image; and He re-established the similitude after a sure manner by assimilating man to the invisible Father through means of the visible Word. (c. 180, qtd. in Kurt Anders Richardson)

In this account, the *imago dei* turns out to be the image of a *word* "said," "not shown." Not manifested, the image is rapidly lost and finally overridden by the "*visible* Word." Christ's incarnation reveals that the image of God *is* the word of God; the Christian scriptures figure human redemption as a process of reconforming man's fallen imaged identity to that word. An exegetical treatise of 1833 puts it this way: "As we saw in the fearful portrait of fallen man the exact reversal of the image of God wherein he was created, so here we find the full recovery of that image, as shown in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ" (W. R. C. 123). The image of God here derives from and returns to the word; it *is* the word; it mani-

fests as image only in its *deviances* from the word. In 1825 Richard Baxter expands this concept to monarchical ideology:

> God's image is (1.) Primarily, in Jesus Christ his Son. (2.) Derivatively, by his Spirit, imprinted perfectly in the Holy Scriptures. (3.) And by the Scripture, or the holy doctrine of it, instrumentally impressed on the soul. So that the image of God in Christ is the cause of his image in his holy word or doctrine and his image in his word is the cause of his image on the heart. So a king may have his image (1.) Naturally on his son, who is like his father. (2.) Expressively in his laws, which express his wisdom, clemency, and justice. (3.) And effectively on his subjects and servants, who are, by his laws, reduced to a conformity to his mind. (1.192)

The *imago dei* here becomes a printing press for the word, which extends beyond the printed words of the Judeo-Christian Bible to the word impressed on the indoctrinated soul. In politics, the king's *imago dei* extends similarly from his son to his laws, which produce ideological conformity to his will and desires.

Bourgeois concepts of the *imago dei* aim likewise to produce ideological conformity. We have seen that Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy* vied with the Bible for preeminence in eighteenth-century British homes. He claims that the human face is analogous to the words of the Bible and that face reading is analogous to biblical translation: "Sacred to [the portrait painter] should be the living countenance as the text of holy scripture to the translator" (3.75). Lavater's system, however, reverses the Bible's priority of words over images, subjugating matches between words and images to matches between images and images and insisting that matches between words and images conform to matches between images and images. Lavater instructs his students to write a verbal description of a person, who sits for the description as sitters do for portraits. Students are then to "[d]raw the figure of the person when he is absent, according to this description." If the drawing does not produce an exact resemblance of the sitter, Lavater directs that the verbal description must be discarded or revised until it does (2.22). In this formulation, words derive from and return to the image, inverting Judeo-Christian theologies, in which images derive from and return to the word. As man in the image of God fails the word of God in Genesis, words in Lavater's account fail images. For Lavater, words are "indeterminate," imprecise, and lacking; there is often only one "general term" to describe "innumerable moral and intellectual excellencies and defects." Drawings compensate for words' significatory lack: "The drawing annexed will render this description more intelligible" (2.113). The word, then, requires semantic redemption by the image.

Lavater goes further to reorder word and image hierarchies, placing the arbitrary alphabet in the service of pictorial classification, where it comes to "mean" gradated relations among pictorial shades. He instructs students to arrange physiognomical drawings according to "shades" and to "mark the various shades of the forehead with the various letters of the alphabet, so that each forehead might have its correspondent letter . . . *appropriated to itself*" (2.35, emphasis added). Here pictorial representation "appropriates" verbal language rather than the other way around. Meaning lies in the shades and extends to the letters, reducing the arbitrariness of single graphemes by making their alphabetic adjacency "mean" graded increments of shading.

Following Lavater, other writers deem faces more truthful than either writing or speech. In 1790 William Cowper writes: "I am very much of Lavater's opinion and persuaded that faces are as legible as books, only . . . much less likely to deceive us" (*Life* 1.365). In 1819 T. Cooke argues that, "were it possible that a man's looks could be as immediately transferred to paper as his thoughts can, they would speak a truer language than anything he could write" (43–4). In 1833 J. L. Levison claims that "the mental faculties under excitement are more strongly delineated by the countenance and action than they can possibly be by the evanescent sounds of artificial language," for, "physiognomical expression . . . although noiseless, speaks a universal language" (71).

Other writers set facial signification and speech at odds:

> The heart has a silent echo in the face, which frequently carries to us a conviction diametrically opposite to the audible expressions of the mouth, and we see through the eyes into the understanding of the man long before it can communicate with us by utterance. ("Ugly Women," 1823, 438)

Discourses on portraits read words as the products of images and superior to words in representing identity. Painter and art critic Jonathan Richardson writes:

> A portrait is a sort of general history of the life of the person it represents, not only to him who is acquainted with it, but to many others, who upon occasion of seeing it are frequently told of what is most material concerning them, or their general character at least; the face and the figure [are] also described and as much of the character as appears by these, which oftentimes is here seen in a very great degree. (1719, 45–6)

Gothic fiction widely grants images identificatory capabilities superior to those of words. When a woman in Elizabeth Helme's *Louisa* (1787) remarks, "I cannot describe him; let his picture speak for him," her failure is not based on

a lack of knowledge, for the man is her brother. Rather, it is based on the failure of words to describe him. As in Lavater's system, pictures compensate for the failure of words: "[S]o saying, she showed me a miniature of Lord Gray, on which [we passed] our comments" (1.142). Words here take a secondary and subsidiary role as commentary on a primary image. While Roland Barthes argues nearly two centuries later that in newspaper photographs either "the image illustrate[s] the text" or "the text loads the image, burdening it with a culture, a moral, an imagination" ("The Photographic Message" 26), here words illustrate the image, and the image loads words with *its* culture, moral, and imagination. (In the late eighteenth century, *illustration* more often meant verbal commentary than pictorial illustration.)

In Gothic fiction, the images of a picture identification frequently take precedence over its words. When Theodore is picture-identified as "true heir" in the climactic scene of *The Castle of Otranto*, the face match comes first and the verbal identification second. Theodore appears; then "the form of Alfonso," whom he resembles, appears; finally, "the vision" of Alfonso (a term that foregrounds him as image) declares Theodore's identity in words:

> The moment *Theodore appeared*, the walls of the castle behind Manfred were thrown down with a mighty force, and *the form of Alfonso*, dilated to an immense magnitude, *appeared* in the center of the ruins. "*Behold* in Theodore the true heir of Alfonso!" said the *vision*. (194–5, emphasis added)

The words not only come last but further defer to the image, instructing viewers to *behold* his identification rather than to *hear* it. Theodore's appearance carries martial as well as psychological power: the moment he appears, the castle walls are "thrown down." (By contrast, in the biblical siege of Jericho, to which this alludes, it is sound, not sight, that topples the walls.) The image overthrows the defenses of the usurper; when Manfred cedes power to Theodore, he cedes to vision rather than proclamation: "In Theodore we *view* the true Prince of Otranto" (195, emphasis added). Offered an "authentic writing" to corroborate Theodore's identity, Manfred replies: "It needs not . . . the visions we have but now seen all corroborate thy evidence *beyond a thousand parchments*" (199, emphasis added). If a picture is worth a thousand words, a face match, it seems, is worth *more* than a thousand parchments.

Even so, assaults on established power do not live by images alone. The ordinary middle classes cannot afford to dispense with proper names or inherited property, yet they cannot base their identities primarily in them without ceding a debased social value by comparison to the landed classes. They therefore assault

aristocratic iconographies intersemiotically from within, setting the identificatory power of images against the titles, proper names, oral narratives, and written documents upon which political and legal power are based.

Thomas Paine ties the arbitrary power of monarchical and aristocratic political structures to their arbitrary modes of signification, decreeing them "base" and "nondescript": "[M]onarchy . . . has a base original signification. It means arbitrary power in an individual person" (119). Along with arbitrary power, Paine attacks the arbitrary signification of aristocratic titles:

> Through all the vocabulary of Adam, there is not such an animal as a duke or a count; neither can we connect any certain ideas with the words. . . . What respect, then, can be paid to that which describes nothing and which means nothing? . . . titles baffle even the powers of fancy and are a chimerical nondescript. (1791–2, 41)

Titles are beyond arbitrary; they describe nothing at all. They are nevertheless formidable in their emptiness, which supports unjust and arbitrary power.

More central to mass picture identification than titles are proper names. Scholars have for centuries understood that the patriarchal name is a bedrock of inherited social identity and authority. British naming practices historically join Christian theology to aristocratic politics, uniting Christian names with inherited family names in church rites and legal documents. Chapter 2 addresses Lavater's attack on this bedrock when he displaces proper with common nouns in his picture identifications. The attack continues in the nineteenth century, as John Stuart Mill emphasizes the nondescriptive qualities of proper names ("On Proper Names"). In the latter twentieth century, poststructuralist thinkers tie semantic critiques to political attacks on patriarchal hierarchies and the Judeo-Christian transcendental signified that supports them. Geoffrey Bennington argues: "What each language keeps as most proper, and therefore as untranslatable, are precisely proper names . . . a domain of universal absolute reference . . . or else always already translated" (171). Jacques Derrida links proper names to "the proper of property" (*Signéponge/Signsponge* 36), deconstructing proper into common nouns, dismantling their power, dispersing their significance, and yet also *restoring* meaning to them from common nouns.

Novels, especially those named after characters, too work to offset the arbitrariness of proper names by lending them semantic significance through association with common nouns, verbs, adjectives, and other words, producing proper names as heavily loaded signs by their final pages. But it is not only other words that lend meaning to proper names: chapter 2 indicates that face matching func-

tions in Gothic fiction to restore proper names and claim social significance, as well as names and titles, from others. Those presented with the evidence of a match in *Belleville Lodge* (1793) readily admit that, "though we have never heard her name, yet the likeness of her and her husband in the miniature now in our possession to that of the late Duke and Duchess's makes it beyond a doubt they are the same and Isabella their daughter" (2.266).

The paradox of absent names is that they typically lead to a surplus of names. Both absent and multiple names equally subvert the goal of social identification to establish unique, individual identity (see chapter 1). *Belleville Lodge* turns to picture identification to resolve a surplus of names for one individual: "I, Harriet Bently, alias Grandison, alias Armstrong, being desirous of obliterating all those aliases (thief taking appellations), and, as solicitous of knowing my real name, have convened this good company to find how I am to be styled in future" (1.141). Conversely, Matilda Fitzjohn's *Joan!!!* (1796) uses picture identification to resolve a surplus of bodies laying claim to one name: "[S]he saw no means of supporting to the proof of her identity; she should only rank herself in the number of detected imposters. . . . how could she prove herself the true Elizabeth?" (4.161). Both surpluses are deemed criminal: aliases are "thief taking appellations"; several bodies laying claim to one "Elizabeth" are perpetuating fraud. Both surpluses tie proper names to the proper of property and competition for resources. Picture identification works to decrease the surplus populations of names and bodies that thwart unique, individual identification.

Face matching, then, bears a double relation to proper names. As often as it proves the truth of lost and hidden names, it proves the falsehood of assumed ones. Emily's picture identification of Sister Agnes as Lady Laurentini in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* presents the triumph of matched images over the deceptions of words: "Laurentini, on her arrival in France, had carefully concealed her *name* and family and, the better to disguise her real *history*, had, on entering the convent, caused [a false] *story* to be circulated" (4.395, emphasis added).

The power of matched images to override language extends from past to present speech. In Isabella Kelly's *The Ruins of Avondale Priory* (1796), his "*resemblance* to the portrait of Lord St. Clair . . . riveted her to the spot and *suspended the power of utterance*" (2.149, emphasis added).

The chief power of images lies not in their mere appearance but in their mimetic matches to each other and to what they represent. The arbitrary and conventional nature of most verbal language means that there is generally no mimetic relationship between signifier and signified. Moreover, in picture iden-

tification, there is no mimetic relationship between name and face. The mimetic resemblance of two faces offsets this significatory lack by making picture identification a tripartite sign of two mimetically matched faces and a proper name. The face match is primary; the name is secondary. Where supplementary evidence is offered in Gothic fiction, it serves to confirm the authority of mimetic resemblance and to teach readers to trust it. In *Belleville Lodge*,

> a box came; enclosed were two portraits set round with brilliants, the one of a lady, the other an old gentleman . . . on the paper that was folded round them were the words written—Augustus, behold your mother and grandfather. . . . Augustus waited on the duke with these letters and, by the likeness of the portrait, convinced him he was his nephew; the miniature of the general and his daughter he instantly knew and pressed the young Augustus to his heart. (1.91, 100–1)

The duke matches the portraits to his memory of their sitters and to the live heir; the writing folded around the images and the letters accompanying them subsequently confirm what the duke "instantly knew." "Folded round" the portraits, words are containers for the inner truth of images, suggesting an intersemiotics in which images are *always already within words*.

More often, as chapter 6 attests, patriarchs in Gothic fiction cling to the verbal modes of identification upon which their own power rests. In *Joan!!!*, "Lord Armathwaite owned her proofs [her resemblance to and possession of a parental portrait] substantial," but for him, "they fell short of ascertaining her identity." However between the portrait and the back of its frame lies a birth certificate offering legal, verbal proof of her identity, which he finally accepts: "[T]he picture opened; the back separated on one side from the setting and the paper is a certificate of your birth" (4.223). The enclosure of the legal document between the picture and the back of the frame embeds legality within the portrait, providing a counterpart to the enfolding words of *Belleville Lodge*. The two together forge a relationship in which words and images contain and are contained by each other.

The interpenetration of verbal and pictorial representation enters other eighteenth-century discourses. For Richard Blakemore, "The painter is a poet to the eye and a poet a painter to the ear. One gives us pleasure by silent eloquence, the other by vocal imagery" (1713, qtd. in Drake 1811, 1.33). In these sentences,

> Artists exchange subject and nominative predicate positions, and words that describe one art primarily and literally describe the other secondarily and figuratively. They do this reciprocally, however, rather than hierarchically: each is the secondary and figurative modifier of the other. Arts and artists also interchange primary and

> secondary bodily senses: the painter retains the actual eye and the poet keeps the literal ear, but the analogy gives the painter a figurative power of speech and the poet a figurative power of imaging. These figures are more than rhetorical ornaments: they point to a cognitive process in which the painter's images arouse linguistic processes in the viewer and the poet's words evoke mental images in the auditor. Though a painting lacks actual words, it evokes verbalizing and narrative effects in cognition so that it seems to possess a silent eloquence. Though a poem lacks illustrations, its words arouse mental images, so that it seems to have vocal powers of painting. (Elliott, *Rethinking the Novel/Film Debate*, 210)

Picture identification goes further than poetry and painting to a threefold intersemiotics that draws on symbolic, indexical, and iconic modes of representation, defined by C. S. Peirce as follows:

> [T]he most frequently useful division of signs is by trichotomy into firstly Likenesses, or, as I prefer to say, *Icons*, which serve to represent their objects only in so far as they resemble them in themselves; secondly, *Indices*, which represent their objects independently of any resemblance to them, only by virtue of real connections with them; and thirdly *Symbols*, which represent their objects, independently alike of any resemblance or any real connection, because dispositions or factitious habits of their interpreters insure their being so understood. ("A Sketch of Logical Critics," 1911, 460–1, emphasis in original)

Peirce weighs the relative significatory powers of icons, indices, and symbols, finding each resonant and lacking:

> [T]he icon is very perfect in respect to signification, bringing the interpreter face to face with the very character signified. For this reason, it is the mathematical sign par excellence. But in denotation it is wanting. It gives no assurance that any such object as it represents really exists. The index, on the other hand, does this most perfectly, actually bringing to the interpreter the experience of the very object denoted. But it is quite wanting in signification unless it involves an iconic part. . . . Symbols are particularly remote from the Truth itself. They are abstracted. They neither exhibit the very characters signified, as icons do, nor assure us of the reality of their objects, as indices do. . . . Nevertheless, they have a great power of which the degenerate signs are quite destitute. They alone express laws. . . . They serve to bring about reasonableness and law. . . . A symbol is the only kind of sign which can be an argumentation. ("New Elements," 1904, 2.307–8)

Peirce's iconic signs manifest continuities with theories of resemblance and immanence underpinning portraiture; iconic signs resemble what they represent and inhere in what they represent: "An icon is a sign fit to be used because it possesses the quality of the signified" (2.307).

However, Peirce determines that a portrait "is not a pure Icon" because, he argues, its resemblances are conventional ("Minute Logic," 1902, 2.92). He argues further that proper names are not entirely symbolic, but are also indexical: "A proper name . . . which denotes a single individual well known to exist by the utterer and interpreter, differs from an index only in that it is a conventional sign"; moreover, Peirce claims that "the legend under a portrait" "forces us to regard it as an icon" ("New Elements" 2.307). Thus, picture identification does not simply include all three types of signs; its individual elements further incorporate aspects of all three types.

Picture identification becomes an especially authoritative mode of signification, as the three types of signs compensate for each other's lack. Picture identification in Gothic fiction compensates for the failure of proper names and narratives in social identification. Like Horace Walpole's founding Gothic novel, *The Castle of Otranto*, Clara Reeve's *The Old English Baron* purports to derive from an old manuscript, but the manuscript is rotting, blotted, and incomplete. At one point, "the characters in the manuscript are *effaced* by time and damp. Here and there some sentences are legible, but not sufficient to pursue the thread of the story"; at another, "[t]he manuscript is again *defaced* for many leaves" (21, 24, emphasis added). But where the manuscript is "effaced" and "defaced," faces and face matches fill in the gaps to restore broken narratives and family lineages: "These . . . are the portraits of my lord and lady . . . look at this face; do you know who is like it?" (41). Throughout first-wave Gothic fiction, when alphabetic characters are lacking, portraits and faces identify characters. Catharine Selden's *The Count de Santerre* (1797) adds foreign languages to other forms of textual indecipherability:

> They were most of them pieces of poetry; some in Spanish, which Elinor understood but imperfectly . . . and some in French and Italian, but from erasures and interlineations [were] totally illegible. At last she opened a paper folded like a letter, but without date, signature, or superscription . . . which contained another letter, undirected also, but sealed. Several sentences of the envelope baffled Elinor's attempts to make them out. (1.277–8)

In addition to "erasures," the text has been overwritten; it contains too many languages; interlineations obscure the sequence and sense of words. Against such a

Tower of Babel, face matching lays claim to a universal language. In this novel, a series of resemblances between miniature and full-length portraits and between portraits and live faces redresses both the excesses and absences of words.

While picture identification does not live by face matches alone but requires words to complete it, face matching claims to produce truer discourses of identity in Gothic fiction. In *Bellgrove Castle*, illegible documents obscure social identification, but resemblances produce other narratives that restore it.

> The baron gave orders to search the pockets of the deceased and, upon examination, there was found a miniature picture and a key of some small chest or cabinet; also a sheet of paper containing a written declaration, but it was so defaced, that scarce a word could be deciphered. From some expressions denoting murder, it appeared like a confession, but its mutilated state forbade the spectators to discover the particulars. (4.31–2)

While the manuscript precludes "discovery," the miniature identifies "the deceased" through face matching: "[I]t bore, upon close examination, a strong resemblance to Julia" (4.33). The portrait elicits oral narratives from several persons, who piece together the narrative of the dead woman in the absence of a legible manuscript.

Images too rely on words to complete picture identification. Without words, Peirce asserts, images press towards indeterminacy: "[A] pure picture without a legend only says '*something* is like this'" ("Excerpts from Letters to William James," 1909, 2.496, emphasis in original). The loss of face matches produces the loss of proper names in picture identification. The loss stems from artistic conventions, which hold that the name of the sitter need only be written on portraits that *fail* to produce an adequate mimetic resemblance, as a line from Congreve's *Love for Love* makes clear: "[I]f you are so ill a painter that I cannot know the person by your picture of her, you must be condemned, like other bad painters, to write the name at the bottom" (1695, 1.1:387). *Melmoth the Wanderer* asks similarly, "Am I then so bad a painter that I must write the name under the figure?" (1820, 83). Writing the name marks not only the name's failure to represent mimetically but also the image's failure to find a face match that would identify it. In contrast to Barthes's argument that photographs need captions because images fail to signify sufficiently, the failure here is not of imagistic signification but rather of *mimesis*. The proper name—the ultimate arbitrary sign—names that failure.

Indeed, the host of extant portraits from this period, once named, now entitled "Portrait of an Unknown Lady" or "Portrait of an Unknown Man," attest to the

all-too-easy separability of names from faces where there is no matching face in personal or cultural memory to establish the name. In Charlotte Turner Smith's *The Banished Man* (1794), a heroine views "great, old family pictures . . . heroes, who bled in the civil wars (as I guess by their wigs and their armor), and the dames, whose simpering charms rewarded their prowess, but whose very names are now forgotten (sad lesson to human vanity!)" (2.205). Smith seizes on the detachment of names from portraits to forge a narrative of aristocratic decline from titles to common nouns. The decline is not simply moral or economic; it is further epistemological. Without mimesis to support them, names disappear from portraits and portraits fail to identify.

In some instances, picture identification engages a middle ground between the linguistic and the pictorial to reduce the arbitrariness of proper names. Pictures lay claim to verbal properties in Gothic fiction, reducing the arbitrary aspects of symbolic language and, conversely, granting arbitrary powers to pictures. O'Halloran's definition of intersemiosis at the start of this chapter encompasses the pictorial, the linguistic, and the symbolic. In *Belleville Lodge*, matched faces are deemed insufficient to establish a proper name:

> "Tell me, my Lord Duke, whom is this like?" showing her bracelet.
>
> "Lady Maria certainly. . . . If that is the only convincing proof, though I confess it a great likeness, yet I know several instances of people being so much alike as to occasion lawsuits."

Written words provide guidance but not definitive knowledge: "The letter says . . . if you should meet with a person so like the miniature as to give you reason to think it was designed for her . . . examine the device, it will lead you to the name" (1.138). The answer lies between: "I have wrote her Christian name under her picture and a device [a symbolic illustration] which in future may lead to the other [her surname]" (1.100). The "device" is a symbolic picture that leads from the pictorial through other words to a proper name:

> "[N]ow let us try to find out the device . . . the device I see is an arm drawing an immense large bow" . . .
>
> "What a bow! . . . it must be an arm as strong as Hercules to draw it."
>
> Lord Henry started, "What can be more plain? Reverse it; call it Armstrong."
>
> " 'Tis evident," echoed Mr. Smith.
>
> "There cannot be a doubt, Augustus," said I.
>
> "I am absolutely convinced," cried Harriet. (1.141–2)

Intersemiosis holds epistemological authority, providing evidence, removing doubt, and instilling conviction.

Picture identification goes further to break down oppositions between mimetic images and arbitrary words when it makes the proper name *mean* the name of a mimetic resemblance—of a face match. Contrary to Foucault's projection that "[a] day will come when, by means of similitude relayed indefinitely along the length of a series, the image itself, along with the name it bears, will lose its identity" (*This Is Not a Pipe* 53–4), picture identification extends similitude from the image to "the name it bears." The name of a portrait simultaneously labels its sitter *and* the portrait. The name of a picture identification, then, is not simply the name of a person verified by a face match; it is also the name *of the face match*. By naming a mimetic resemblance, the proper name becomes the name of a mimesis. In picture identification, the face match works to offset the arbitrariness of the proper name by making it the name of a resemblance. Thus words and images in picture identification lend not only significance but also properties to each other. A great deal has been written regarding the relative absence and presence of symbolic and mimetic signs. Picture identification works intersemiotically to lend symbolic force to mimetic images and mimetic value to arbitrary names.

Drawing on all three modes of representation proposed by Peirce, picture identification aspires to supreme representational power. Each mode compensates for the lack of the others. Picture identification makes proper names seem less arbitrary by association with mimetic faces. If the role of the face match in picture identification is to shore up the significance and truth of the proper name and lessen its arbitrariness, the role of the proper name in picture identification is to *name imaging as social identity*. For all the recent worry over mimesis as the slippery path to naïve realism, it is the proper name, not the face match in picture identification, that names mimetic imaging as identity. As the proper name identically names two resembling faces—more than that, names the two as one and constructs social identity through that naming—it claims an imaged identity *for itself* by association. Even as it names the image and the body as one, it splits itself to become the name of the image, the name of the body, the name of their resemblance, and the name of a social identity. In so doing, it claims a fourfold identical identity with itself, pressing away from the symbolic through the mimetic toward the synonymic. But since its primary synonymy lies with itself, the process grants the proper name intensified rather than diminished social and significatory power.

As picture identification extends from names to narratives, its other words

too lay claim to pictorial properties. The rhetoric of picture identification grants what is other or lacking to arbitrary words: mimetic properties. In *Santo Sebastiano* (1806), mimetic matching proves the truth of the word: "[S]o exactly did she represent you, that all who knew you were convinced her painting was from nature" (Cuthbertson 90). It does so not by attaching arbitrary words to mimetically matched faces but by matching the *visual* perception of a face to a *verbal* description of it. As in Lavater's system, the word proves true because it corresponds to mimetic perception and takes on mimetic functions. Concomitantly, words that aspire to mimesis and fail are proclaimed untrue: "[H]ow comes it that my cousin . . . is so unlike the portrait you have drawn?" (Parsons, *The Peasant of Ardenne Forest*, 1801, 4.104).

By laying claim to mimesis, symbolic signs, more arbitrary and versatile than iconic signs, are able to assert mimetic powers that pictorial signs cannot. For example, no mimetic illustration can convey that a young man's face is the "exact copy" of his mother's, as Eliza Parsons's *The Mysterious Warning* (1796) claims (4.240).[1]

If picture identification introduces mimesis into the heart of arbitrariness, it concomitantly introduces arbitrariness into the heart of mimesis. In family portrait galleries and albums, mimetically matched faces attach to and accentuate the phonetic and graphic resemblances of shared family names. Like the letters of DNA strands, the resemblances of proper names declare family, regional, national, and religious affiliations along a linguistic register, with both forenames and surnames repeating across generations. The insertion of the proper name into imaged identity opens a space for differentiation and for other arbitrary symbols to enter and *to lay claim to imaged, inherent identity*.

Intersemiosis holds not only significatory and epistemological power but also social and economic power in Gothic fiction, where the intersemiotics of picture identification frequently shift power from the landed to the dispossessed. In Thomas H. White's *Bellgrove Castle; or, The Horrid Spectre!* (1803), a narrative "in a fine small hand" is discovered inside a miniature portrait "between the back and the painting" (4.176). The picture identification extends from narrative notes to bank notes and from social deeds to legal deeds:

> Upon further search, we discovered a box, so ingeniously contrived, as to form part of the chest; upon search, it contained bank notes to the amount of seven thousand pounds and upon them was carefully laid a portrait, which, upon comparison, appeared to be the exact counterpart of that left with Fitzherbert's nurse. On examining the papers, we found, in addition to the abbey, the old gentleman possessed an

> estate in Hertfordshire to the amount of eight hundred pounds a year and likewise another in Bedfordshire, from whence he derived nearly double that sum, the whole of which was formerly bequeathed to his son Charles, or to his grandson of that name should he ever live to make a discovery of the papers and portrait. (4.217–8)

The portrait lies on top of documents: it presents first, supported by the writings beneath. Its resemblance to another portrait simultaneously identifies the heir and ties his identity to the documents.

The intersemiotics of picture identification further challenge those in positions of power. Thomas Gaspey's *Other Times; or, The Monks of Leadenhall* (1823) makes a complex identificatory showdown between an apparent Gothic villain and an apparent Gothic hero the "cliffhanger" between its second and third volumes. When Ferdinand denounces Lord Erpingham as a Gothic villain, Erpingham denies the identification to the core of his subjective identity: "I am not more assured that I continue to exist than I am that you are deceived." But Ferdinand, like other Gothic heroes, counters the verbal assertion with a picture identification:

> "Impossible! no subterfuge can avail. Look on this portrait—is it not yours? . . . Your features were too strongly marked by nature and too accurately copied by art to make it possible for me to mistake."
>
> Lord Erpingham started at recognizing a miniature of himself which he had not seen for many years. "This is my portrait," he said.

As his picture identification disrupts Erpingham's patriarchal control, Ferdinand follows with what is usually a knockout punch in such encounters: a claim of mimetic resemblance:

> "Now look on me:—see you no trace of features once familiar?"
> "They have often reminded me of one most dear."
> "Of thy murdered wife? . . . I am the brother of that wife . . ." (2.69–71)[2]

The resemblance identifies Ferdinand as avenger of his sister's death, for which he blames Erpingham. But Erpingham fends off vengeance by making a counteridentification of Ferdinand as his son. Although he doubts Erpingham's veracity, he nevertheless agrees to hear his narrative. At its conclusion, he concedes: "Your narrative is consistent, my lord." Consistency, like so many other bourgeois values, produces epistemological truth because it takes on mimetic properties and fulfills empiricism's mandate for repetition. Even so, verbal consistency is insufficient; Ferdinand demands further proof. Dismissing "a small packet

of papers" produced by Erpingham, he counters that they could be forgeries. A shocked bystander remarks: "If . . . you can hold proofs like these as nothing, I know not what can convince you." But Erpingham knows: "That which I shall next produce"—a portrait. It is Ferdinand's turn to "start": "This," said he, "is indeed a surprise! That painting is the exact resemblance of one which I have brought with me to Europe, by means of which I was enabled to recognize your countenance" (3.49). This portrait, together with another portrait of Ferdinand's sister, both drawn by her, confirms Erpingham's account of their affectionate relationship and proves him innocent of her death. Pictorial representations supply the discourse that the dead woman cannot offer, manifesting her subjective point of view as well as events, relationships, and locations—all without words.

Here, as in Emily's identifications of her aunt and Laurentini in *Udolpho*, knowledge is produced by resemblances between portraits rather than between persons and portraits. Such matching shifts epistemology to a mode in which representations verify *each other*. In contexts of burgeoning print media, such narratives press toward ideological and representational conformity.

In *Other Times*, while picture identification initially opposes patriarchal power, in the end it restores it, reconstructing the challenger of aristocratic authority as a subservient, penitent son: "Doubt and suspicion are no more. Oh, my lord! my father I may call you now, on my knees I implore forgiveness" (3.46–50). But although the novel's treatment of patriarchy is more conservative than revolutionary, in prioritizing portraiture's images over its words and picture identification over written documents, it mounts a substantial assault on the word and image hierarchies that support social patriarchal power. Patriarchs must be tested according to these epistemologies or destroyed.

In the final analysis, however, it remains problematic that the priority of the image over the word is declared in words. While some Gothic texts are illustrated, most are not, and few Gothic illustrations represent portraits. By way of capitalization upon and compensation for this absence, some Gothic fiction develops a rhetoric of portraiture, setting it over and against other kinds of language. The rhetoric mounts an attack by the image *against* language from *within* language, as the next chapter details.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Iconism and the Aesthetics of Gothic Fiction

ICONISM A fashioning, a true and lively description. [RHETORIC] A figure when a person or thing is represented to the life.
—Nathan Bailey, *The Universal Etymological Dictionary* (1737)

The soft limpid air made all things into pictures, into Turners, into Titians.
—Anne Thackeray Ritchie, preface to Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* (1800, xii–xiii)

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholars, authors, and readers are keenly concerned with the pictorial properties of verbal language, particularly with the capacities of words to raise mental images. One term for this is *iconism*. The *OED* (1989) offers two definitions: "A representation by some image or figure; imagery; metaphor" and "*Semiotics*. The quality or fact of being an icon or intentional sign." It deems the first definition obsolete; however, it was not so between 1764 and 1835. Moreover, recent debates in linguistics have restored this obsolete definition to iconism. Peirce argues, "Language and all abstracted thinking, such as belongs to minds who think in words, is of the symbolic nature," but he adds a qualification: "Many words, though strictly symbols, are so far iconic that they are apt to determine iconic interpretants or, as we say, to call up lively images" ("New

Elements" 2.307). Scholars both building on and deconstructing the work of Ferdinand de Saussure counter that "no linguistic signs have nonarbitrary features," preferring to see language "as a self-contained, autonomous semiotic system with its own internal forces of meaning and change independent of the world" (Anderson 16). Umberto Eco maintains that any resemblance between iconic signs (including pictorial images) and their referents is conventional: "[S]imilarity does not concern the relationship between the image and its object, but that between the image and a previously culturalized content" (204). However, more recent scholars contend that Eco's is an overstated, ideologically biased claim. In *Grammar of Iconism*, Earl R. Anderson observes that some language "imitate[s] or represent[s] by means of partial resemblance" (99). He calls this *iconism*. Cognitive linguists, sociolinguists, and theorists of sign language[1] join Anderson in reasserting the iconic properties of verbal language that the *OED* deems obsolete in 1989. Because Saussure pronounced language a system of sounds, the paradigmatic iconic verbal form has been and remains onomatopoeia. However, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, iconism was a predominantly pictorial affair; the term is prevalent in religious, philosophical, art, and rhetorical discourses, where it refers to religious icons, biblical prophecy, mental images, symbols in art, and figurative language.

More broadly, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century theories of language are joined to theories of mind by a chain of imaging. Aristotle's claim that "words are the images of thoughts and letters are the images of words" is set regularly in dialogue with Bonheurs's alternative, "Thoughts are the images of things as words are the images of thoughts," in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (e.g., Newbury 1762, 1.18; Rollin 1804, 1.443; Spedding, Ellis, and Heath 1858, 4.439). So extensively are these ideas embraced that a periodical writer declares in 1836: "It is a *self-evident* truth of many profound philosophers that words are the images of thoughts" (S. D. W. 1836, 197, emphasis in original).

Although iconism is present in other fiction and also in nonfiction, it rarely emerges there with as much intensity as it does in Gothic fiction. Indeed, the pictorial nature of Romantic Gothic writing has been singled out for special consideration and discussed from many angles, including the Romantic imagination,[2] Gothic theatrical spectacle,[3] the ascendancy of realism,[4] feminist psychoanalytic voyeurism,[5] visual technology,[6] and politics.[7] However, its relation to portraiture and picture identification remains to be established. The *OED* indicates that *portrait* has an elastic usage across visual and verbal fields. Although it once included visual representations of all sorts, by the late sixteenth century, it referred principally to representations of persons. Its usage in verbal discourse

was constrained by its usage in the visual arts, so that *portraits* in verbal discourse most commonly refer to graphic descriptions of persons.

If recent critics have overlooked the iconism of picture identification in Gothic fiction, early nineteenth-century critics were attuned to it. In 1805 Hugh Murray renders Ann Radcliffe's novels the epitome of "Descriptive Romance," assessing that "she excels greatly in the representation of fierce and terrible characters; not the internal workings of these characters, but the picturesque appearance which they exhibit in the eye of a spectator" (127). In 1826 Thomas Noon Talfourd commends her prose portraits: "In the estimate of Mrs. Radcliffe's pictorial powers, we must include her persons as well as her scenes" (75). Talfourd praises Radcliffe's realist aesthetics: "Mrs. Radcliffe's faculties of describing and picturing scenes and appropriate figures was of the highest order . . . conveying clear images to the eye of the mind, with scarcely any incrustation of sentiment or perplexing dazzle of fancy" (1.119, 117). Even so, Gothic fiction's iconism uses "clear images," I argue, to blur the boundaries dividing different kinds of images in order to rework traditional chains of imaged identity. Mary Charlton's *Phedora* (1798) illustrates how a rhetoric of portraiture obfuscates distinctions between verbal and visual representation and between representation and presentation:

> I have hitherto denied myself the pleasure of presenting you with a portrait of my husband, but it appears that he does not feel averse from favoring you with a very exact representation of himself; he is hastening to give the last touches to the picture and, in about two hours I judge, or three at most, Baron Harsen will produce himself highly colored and completely finished. (3.28)

The passage uses the same rhetoric to indicate the representation of a portrait and the presentation of a person. Fusing the phenomenological and the representational proclaims simultaneously the naturalness of portraiture and the artifice of personal presence.

The Modern Miniature (1792) more complexly intertwines diegetic, literal, and pictorial portraits with extradiegetic, metaphorical, and verbal portraits, presenting a journal detailing the commissioning, painting, and delivery of a miniature as *itself* a miniature "portrait of society." Such fluidity epitomizes the ways in which Gothic fiction's rhetoric of portraiture breaks down boundaries not so much to subvert, as is generally argued of Gothic's assaults on boundaries, as to colonize other modes of representation with bourgeois principles and aesthetics of portraiture.

Ann Radcliffe increasingly saturates her novels in a rhetoric of painting and, more pertinent to this discussion, of portraiture. Talfourd perceives her writing

as a means of "controlling and fixing the wild images which floated around her" (1.124). Her pictorial writing equally seeks to control and fix ideologies. Pressing the rhetoric of portraiture from pictorial representation to verbal description, from portraits to other physical objects, from perceptual to mental states, and into domains of epistemology and ideology, she makes it an all-but-universal interpenetrating aesthetic uniting and colonizing ("controlling and fixing") the embodied world, the representational world, and the perceptual world and, by extension, the writing of texts, the texts themselves, and the reading of texts. Gothic fiction's rhetoric of portraiture colonizes by extending chains of resembling, inhering, imaged identities into other domains, figuring writing, textuality, and reading, along with being, seeing, imaging, imagining, ideology, and representation, as all inhering in each other through resemblance. The astonishing power of the portraiture aesthetic, then, lies not so much in its claims to realism, naturalism, positivism, or essentialism as in its ability to figure everything it represents as inhering in itself and itself as inhering in everything it represents.

Late in the nineteenth century, an English translation of von Harnack's history of theology ties imaged identity to the identity of *all* things:

> The Son is the perfect image of God; the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son. Ideas of things are images; man is the image and likeness of God; the word is the image of thought; memory of the past and preconception of the future are images. *Everything is an image and the image is everything.* (von Harnack, qtd. in Green 683, emphasis added)

A rhetoric of portraiture in Gothic fiction claims similarly that "everything is a portrait and the portrait is everything."

For all the philosophical and rhetorical continuities traced between verbal and pictorial representations, there are rivalries running between them as well. The rhetoric of portraiture in Gothic fiction emerges after more than a century of debate on the relative representational powers of words and images in poetry and painting, a debate that extends to prose. In 1719 Jonathan Richardson praises portraits' ability to function as "histories" while criticizing the inability of words to represent persons: "No words can give you an idea of the face and person of one you have never seen; painting does it effectually" (18). More than a century later, a review of "Lodge's British Portraits" (1831) contends, "The gallery of historical portraits, *with or without the letter-press (the latter graphic in itself)*, is to every lover of his native land the most interesting, ennobling, and spirit-stirring work ever produced in England and, at the same time, highly valuable as a specimen of British Art" (n.p., emphasis added). Between the two accounts, the representa-

tional power of portraiture has expanded from "an idea" to ideology, from seeing to soul stirring, and from perception to idealization. The latter account extends portraiture's "ennobling" powers from Gothic characters literally ennobled by resemblance to aristocratic portraits to those rhetorically ennobled in print galleries and to the ennoblement of ordinary readers.

Recent critics have determined that the heightened emotion of Gothic fiction is unrepresentable, using various theoretical constructs, including poststructuralism, the Lacanian Real, the psychoanalytic unconscious, absolute negativity, the Hegelian supersensible Idea, and theories of the sublime, to make their claims.[8] In 1756 Edmund Burke favors the representational power of words over painting:

> [M]any ideas have never been at all presented to the senses of any men but by words, as God, angels, devils, heaven, and hell, all of which have, however, a great influence over the passions. . . . In painting we may represent any fine figure we please; but we can never give it those enlivening touches which it may receive from words. (*The Sublime and the Beautiful* 1.326)

By contrast, Gothic fiction's founding novel, *The Castle of Otranto*, repeatedly attests to the failure of words to represent the passions:

> Words cannot *paint* the astonishment of Isabella. (17, emphasis added)

> Words cannot *paint* the horror of the princess's situation. (25, emphasis added)

> The passions that ensued must be conceived; they cannot be *painted*. (83, emphasis added)

The failure of words lies in their failure to *paint*, the implication being that painting can represent the passions. Radcliffe's *A Sicilian Romance* (1790) follows suit:

> Language cannot *paint* the sensation of madame. (2.4, emphasis added)

> [S]he sat in a state of fearful distress, which no color of language can *paint*. (1.114, emphasis added)

Yet even as these passages undermine the representational capacities of words, they do so paradoxically *through* words, using words to declare the superiority of images and ekphrastic words to undermine symbolic words.

Subsequently Radcliffe *does* paint in words. Indeed, Talfourd critiques *A Sicilian Romance* for its failure to paint as Radcliffe's later novels do: "There are, in this short story, incidents enough for two such works as *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, where, as in that great romance, they should not only be told, but painted"

(78). Radcliffe had many imitators and numerous Gothic narrators call self-consciously on the muses to inspire their prose portraits of heightened emotions: "But aid me ye muses both sublime and beautiful! aid me to impart to the lovers of the descriptive art an adequate portrait of the enraged Lady Mountsorrel" (Ward, *The Orphan Boy*, 1821, 655).

Where Gothic fiction deems words inadequate to represent extreme emotion, a rhetoric of portraiture throws up "faces" as canvases and paints them with affective diction. In Smith's *The Old Manor House* (1793), "Orlando, looking up, showed a countenance on which extreme agony of mind was strongly painted" (2.180); in Reeve's *The Old English Baron* (1777), "resentment and despair were painted on his visage" (106); in Dacre's *Zofloya* (1806), "various persons, domestics in the castle, burst into the room; strong dismay painted on their faces" (192). Such passages recall Foucault's oft-cited claim that "the body is the inscribed surface of events . . . totally imprinted by history," which he defines as the creation of values by discourse ("Nietzsche, Genealogy, History" 148). We have seen that bourgeois ideology privileges the face over the body as the locus of intellect, affect, and moral character and sets it over and against the procreative body that locates social value based in lineage. Foucault further deconstructs body-soul binarisms by arguing that discourse inscribes the soul "around, on, within the body" (*Discipline and Punish* 29). In the passages cited above, discourse paints faces with words, just as Foucault prescribes; elsewhere, however, the body paints *itself* physiologically, draining color from faces and flooding faces with color: "Her face, naturally fine and expressive, was now most skillfully painted . . . an almost alabaster white" (Cuthbertson, *Santo Sebastiano*, 1806, 1.118); "my cheeks were pale, but his tender salutation thrilled my heart and painted them with deepening scarlet" (Stanhope, *The Bandit's Bride*, 1807, 4.178). Although the "deepening scarlet" appears in response to verbal "salutation," the passage proclaims the body's ability to signify. It further renders physiology complicit with class ideology, shifting discourses on the presence and absence of blood from genealogy to affect, reinforcing bourgeois emphases on the latter's role in the construction of social identity, a subject I address further in chapter 9. It is, after all, not so much the words as the emotions produced by the words that raise the "deepening scarlet."

In 1828 a periodical author contends that passions have power to reconstruct faces and, by extension, social identity: "The passions are, indeed, faithful but fearful portrait painters. . . . I have known a week of anxiety to do the work of years; and it is certain that a fit of anger or jealousy will leave their lineaments on the features, as well as their coloring on the complexion, in a few hours" ("The

Changes of Youth" 193). Pathognomy is here granted power to construct physiognomy, inscribing faces with "coloring" and "lineaments," challenging ideas that physiognomy is inherited and fixed at birth. Conversely, the passions are granted power to *fix* identities—to leave permanent marks upon faces.

Affect is ideologically coded and classed in Selden's *The Count de Santerre* (1797): "[I]n the countenance of Madame was painted wonder, with curiosity and uneasiness, while the looks of the servants expressed only superstitious terror" (1.267). The rhetoric of portraiture locates class distinctions *within subjectivity*. As painters mix paints, such rhetoric blends socialization and affect. The mistress, "from custom and a dread of censure," has been socialized to "ridicule . . . the idea of ghosts" and therefore encounters their possible apparition with "wonder," "curiosity," and "uneasiness" (1.269); her servants have been socialized to believe in ghosts, producing terror. In *A Guide to Knowledge* (1832), William Pinnock infantilizes superstitious terror: "It is in childhood . . . that our first superstitious terror is impressed. In order to make the unruly or unwilling child submit to their directions, servants but too commonly appeal to the child's terrors" (4.103). In *The Count de Santerre*, it seems that superstition may equally be impressed to make unruly or unwilling servants submit to masters.

Painted facial affect works not only to identify characters; it goes further to create identification *with* characters. Although Burke argues that words are "much more capable of making deep and lively impressions than any other arts and even than nature itself" (*The Sublime and the Beautiful* 1.325), Gothic fiction displays the ability of faces painted by affect to produce affect in those who hear or view such portraits. In Mary Meeke's *Langhton Abbey* (1809), the auditor of a verbal portrait is "moved by the strong picture the Marquis had drawn of Lady William Albany's state of mind" (121). *The Peasant of Ardenne Forest* (Parsons 1801) carries affective picture identification from sympathy to empathy: "I pictured to myself my own feelings in a situation so deplorable as hers and shuddered at the portrait" (3.209). The affective self-portrait is produced by making a mimetic picture of one's own feelings and matching them mimetically to the feelings of another.

Throughout Gothic fiction, portraits of emoting faces school characters and readers to adopt the "proper" emotions through such matching. In *The Count de Santerre*, "The pale gleam of the tapers on the surrounding mirrors and the various and melancholy group they reflected made every person look at the others to see if their visages were as ghastly as their own was represented" (1.267–8). While this passage can certainly be read psychoanalytically, it delineates a conscious and collective process of identification. The mirror objectifies a communal adult subjectivity and ties individual to collective imaged identities. The process is

one of conscious, cognitive mimetic matching; the mirrors allow subjects to see themselves *as they see others and as others see them* and to compare their self-perception to their perception of others. Because each person is collectively engaged in the same identificatory process, this is a collective identification in more than one sense. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault addresses the operations of power through surveillance. Here each person engages in self-surveillance; yet it is a collective self-surveillance that presses toward social conformity, as each gauges and adjusts to the facial representations of others. *Florence Macarthy* paints a group portrait in which "universal emotion and amazement were pictured in every countenance" (Morgan 1818, 4.252).

Picture identification navigates between self and others in other ways. Terry Castle argues that Gothic fiction produces the other as specter ("Spectralization"); one can equally argue that it produces the other as *portrait*, for, in addition to locating the other as specter at the beginning of the soul → body → portrait chain of imaged identities, Gothic fiction locates the other at its end as portrait, again validating what comes later in the chain of imaging over what is original or prior. It does so to rework social identity in terms of representation rather than origins.

Gothic fiction's rhetoric of portraiture (as opposed to its ekphrastic representations of actual portraits) interiorizes and artifacutalizes relational identity, rupturing distinctions between body and artifact and between interiority and exteriority. Chapter 6 has shown how Gothic picture identification claims to exteriorize older social recognition practices based in memory and private perception, making them artifactual, public, and communal. A rhetoric of faces painted, engraved, and imprinted on hearts carries picture identification back from public, exterior domains into private interiors: " 'Here is her portrait; but it is painted here'—[and then I'd point to my heart]—'in colors never to be effaced' " (Lewis, "My Uncle's Garret-Window," 1808, 4.33–4). After its residence in social and perceptual domains, however, the internalized image is not entirely subjective or personal; rather, it marks the absorption of conventional, communal, public perception as private property. The portrait painted on the heart constitutes a cultural production *inside* the body; it represents the other "painted" into and onto subjectivity, reconstructing interiority as relational. If psychoanalysis considers social identification to be the *projection* of internal drives upon external others, Gothic fiction's rhetoric of portraiture often figures it as the *possession* of external others as internalized images. Although both make gazing the agent that produces the other as image, Gothic and contemporaneous texts gaze to engrave in memories and upon feeling hearts: "on whose countenance we have gazed till every lineament is indelibly engraven on the memory" (Bury, *The Devoted*, 1836,

1.133); "I have gazed upon those features night and day; the sweet expression of that noble countenance is engraved upon my heart" (Blessington, "The Black Riband," 1834, 271). If identity lies in imaging, when one possesses the other *as* image, one possesses the identity of the other as one's own. If Foucault figures identity as the product of discursive inscriptions upon the surfaces of bodies, Gothic fiction constructs it as a composite identity in which the images of others painted and engraved upon the *internal organs* become inherent to one's subjective identity, albeit not as unconscious projections of the self; rather, they form a consciously constructed relational identity. Painting another's identity upon the affective core of bourgeois identity, the heart, constructs subjectivity as both affectively relational and imagistically representational. In some instances, an internally engraven bourgeois image is set against the external attractions of aristocratic identities: "[T]he matchless image which was engraven on my heart acted as a counter charm to all their pretensions and fascinations" ("Friendship," 1821, 330).

Such representations challenge Christian, classical, and aristocratic understandings of inherence and imaged identities, as these inherent identities are made, not born. The rhetoric of interior painting, engraving, and imprinting of the other vies with nature, lineage, and art in the production of identities when it vaunts the indelibility of its marks:

> "Oh, how unnecessary . . . to sketch features which are indelibly engraven on my heart!" (Roche, *The Children of the Abbey*, 1796, 4.163)

> "My heart: oh! madam, that you could see it—that you could read the love, the admiration, and respect indelibly imprinted there, with your image, never, never to be erased whilst it beats within my bosom." (Parsons, *The Castle of Wolfenbach*, 1793, 148)

Yet such indelibility proves mortal, for the image vanishes when the heartbeat ceases. The image that is made rather than born is nevertheless mortal and dies.

Such rhetoric furthermore challenges a Christian tradition in which the word rather than the image is engraved upon hearts:

> . . . these first principles, these obvious and familiar truths, thus deeply imprinted in your memory, thus indelibly engraven on your conscience . . . (Jebb 1824, 225)

> [T]he language of the catechism . . . is strongly impressed upon us in our youthful age by our pastors . . . indelibly engraven on the mind and feelings. (R. C. 1820, 447)

Early Gothic novels, such as Clara Reeve's *The Old English Baron* (1777), engrave names rather than faces upon hearts: "[T]he name of Sir Philip Harclay shall be engraven upon my heart, next to my Lord and his family, for ever" (27). Later Gothic novels engrave faces. One even didactically displaces the name with the image: "[W]hen I die, I think your name—no, *your image*, will be found engraved on my heart" (Mosse 1825, 4.240, emphasis in original).

Even so, as the image moves inward, it becomes accessible to others only through words. The face match proclaimed between the public, perceptible portrait and the private portrait painted on the heart thus becomes a matter of sheer verbal assertion. Through repetition, however, it becomes a convention, an article of cultural faith affirmed as creed in scores of texts. Thus, even as internal engraving and imprinting render the other's image private and personal, they do so publicly and en masse, for theirs is a rhetoric of mass production and circulation. Andrea K. Henderson considers early Gothic's emphasis on relational identity, together with its presentation of character as "a matter of surface, display, and 'consumption' by others," to construct identity in terms of exchange value rather than use value, a dynamic accentuated by the similar heroes and heroines, who circulate among relationships and narratives like so many interchangeable coins (39; 52). Conventionally, when lovers break off an engagement, they return the miniature portraits they have exchanged, as in Elizabeth Craven's *The Miniature Picture* (1781, 70). Portraits engraven upon hearts, however, cannot be returned or exchanged and, as such, resist Henderson's model. To save her father's life, a heroine "most reluctantly acceded the desired oath that her hand should never be given in marriage to Don Carlos on his return to Spain, but added that to efface his image from her heart and that heart's allegiance from its first and only love was a command beyond her power to obey" (Sarah Wilmot Wells, *Tales*, 1827, 1.147). The power of the internalized image, then, resists social exchange and verbal discourses, overriding both authoritative commands and her own verbal promise to obey. Moreover, the rhetoric of internal inscription breaks down the boundary between depth and surface advanced by so many literary critics, privatizing even as it mass-produces, hoarding even as it circulates. Here and elsewhere, the ravening, colonizing rhetoric of portraiture is a rhetoric of both-and rather than either-or or neither-nor.

Gothic fiction's rhetoric of portraiture seeks total colonization of the mind, stretching beyond the perception, cognition, and memory that I address in chapter 6 to encompass imagination, fantasy, fancy, and dreams.[9] As these too are cast in the image of portraiture within a literary form that is predicated upon them, Gothic's rhetoric of portraiture extends to an aesthetics of Gothic fiction. Robert

Miles argues that Gothic writers such as Radcliffe drew on Lord Kames's theory of "ideal presence," a space between perception and ideas, to establish "a theory of aesthetic reception . . . [that] sought to police the encounter between reader and text," granting readers power through a visual transparency clarified by contrast to dark spaces of corrupt Gothic power ("The Eye of Power" 13–4). Gothic fiction's aesthetics of portraiture, I contend, goes further to construct *and then violate* spaces between visual and verbal, mental and perceptual, public and private, interior and exterior, and diegetic and extradiegetic spheres in order to "police the encounter between reader and text" in the service of bourgeois ideologies.

A rhetoric of picture identification carries empiricism and realism into mental domains usually associated with imagination and idealism. Some imaginative portraits are painted in an idealistic aesthetic opposed to realism (she "had loved and honored the Baron for such as her imagination had painted him, not for what, in truth, he was" [Radcliffe, *Gaston de Blondeville*, 1826, 2.394]); fantasy likewise "paints" unattainable ideals ("the eye shall never see the form which fantasy paints" [Peacock, *Nightmare Abbey*, 1818, 162]). However, when it comes to the perception of *resemblance* that leads to social or picture identification, "fancy" never errs. In both *The Italian* (Radcliffe 1797) and *Romance of the Pyrenees* (Cuthbertson 1803), an initial mistrust of a "fancied" resemblance proves unfounded. In the former, "she fancied she saw the person of the very man whose absence she had remarked. . . . The portrait had certainly much resemblance in height and bulk" (1.192). In the latter, a man concludes that beauty "had led his admiring fancy to portray a likeness" where there is none (4.60). In both, however, *resemblance* has been accurately perceived and persons accurately identified by it. Indeed, in 1771, James Harris recommends portraiture to elucidate the difference between memory and fancy:

> If the distinction between *memory* and *fancy* be not sufficiently understood, it may be illustrated by being compared to the view of a portrait. When we contemplate a portrait *without thinking of whom it is the portrait*, such contemplation is analogous to FANCY. When we view it *with reference to the original whom it represents*, such contemplation is analogous to MEMORY. (356, emphasis in original)

Fancy for Harris is predicated on a lack of resemblance, a lack of empirical matching. However, in Gothic fiction, the truth-value of resemblance is so powerful that it can tie even unreliable chimerical fancy to reliable empirical perception. As resemblance mediates between the two, it overrides the boundaries conventionally dividing them. Fancy may lie, but resemblance never does, *even when represented by fancy*. As in Miles's argument that darkness makes transparency more

so by contrast, fancy affirms the truth of resemblance in contrast to itself as a domain of delusive imagination and hallucination.

Such continuities provide an epistemological model for readers of fictive fancy. Readers who wish to "see" whom a character resembles must create mental pictures, as *Abaellino, the Bravo of Venice*'s narrator directs: "If the reader is curious to know what this same Abaellino was *like*, he must *picture himself*" (Matthew Lewis 1804, 21, emphasis added). The reader is called upon to produce a likeness, a resemblance. "He must picture himself" doubly articulates oneself creating a picture of another and picturing one's self. Building on such continuities between pictures and identification of and with others, Radcliffe's contemporaries adduce that her exceptional power to produce reader identification derives from her portraits:

> In the estimate of Mrs. Radcliffe's pictorial powers, we must include her persons as well as her scenes. It must be admitted that, with scarcely an exception, they are figures rather than characters. No writer ever produced so powerful an effect without the aid of sympathy. Her machinery acts directly on her readers and makes them tremble and weep, not for others, but for themselves. (Talfourd 119)

Radcliffe's figural portraits carry readers beyond identification *with* characters to their displacement *of* characters:

> Adeline, Emily, Vivaldi, and Ellena are nothing to us, except as filling up the scene; but it is we ourselves who discover the manuscript in the deserted abbey, we who are prisoners in the castle of Udolpho, we who are inmates of Spalatro's cottage, we who stand before the secret tribunal of the Inquisition, and even there are startled by the mysterious voice deepening its horrors. (Talfourd 119)

Radcliffe's rhetoric of portraiture moreover surrounds, penetrates, and reconstructs the interiority of readers:

> The whole is prodigious painting, so entire as to *surround* us with illusion; so cunningly arranged as to *harrow up the soul*; and the presence of a real person would spoil its completeness. The figures, all the persons, are adapted with peculiar skill to the scenes in which they appear—the more as they are part of one entire conception. (Talfourd 120, emphasis added)

Extending from persons to scenes, Radcliffe's iconism yokes not only persons and settings in "one entire conception" but also characters and readers, becoming an encompassing and permeating aesthetic uniting and—yet also breaking—boundaries between diegetic and extradiegetic realms and between the

social and the representational, the verbal and the pictorial, the symbolic and the mimetic, and the writing and reading of texts, and by drawing on portraiture's theories of inherence to claim inherent, imaged relations among them all. As portraits are deemed to represent things other than themselves as inherent parts of themselves, so too a colonizing rhetoric of portraiture represents what is other than itself as inherent in itself. Mimetic aesthetics thus stand ever ready to attach new values, agendas, and ideologies to existing chains of signification.

This ability to extend inherent, imaged identity to something other is indispensable to the introduction of new and rival ideologies. If in some instances a rhetoric of portraiture displaces characters with readers, in others it displaces characters with ideologies. In Isabella Kelly's *The Abbey of St. Asaph* (1795), "his whole appearance exhibited a mournful portrait of dejection and remorse" (2.100). Eleanor Sleath's *The Orphan of the Rhine* (1798) is more didactic: "An inexpressible serenity of soul was pictured upon his brow, whilst the whole contour of his face, which was regular, exhibited a certain dignity of mind inseparable from a virtuous character" (250). Persons here are exhibitors rather than subjects of portraits; rather than being represented as persons, they are themselves representations, personifying ideologically laden sentiments, giving their "whole appearance" to conveying them, even those deemed "inexpressible." A woman in Catharine Selden's *The Sailors* (1800), made mad by grief, is restored to sanity by a portrait. In the process, she becomes a portrait of cultural values herself: "A good picture of her, taken at that time, would have produced a beautiful representation of pensive resignation in sorrow" (2.53). Faces, then, become canvases exhibiting mental, moral, and affective bourgeois values.

The belief that identity inheres in facial features means that social identification runs—quite literally—along facial lines: "He wore his heart displayed upon his face, where nature had conspicuously stamped, in her most dark and diabolical *characters*, villain upon every *line*" (Cuthbertson, *Romance of the Pyrenees* 1.74, emphasis added). The word *characters* conflates alphabetic characters, literary characters, and moral character. In "his venerable countenance, softened by an expression of complacent delight, exhibited a perfect picture of happy age" (Radcliffe, *Romance of the Forest*, 1791, 3.332), two aspects of identity—age and emotion—run quite literally along the same representational lines; facial lines indicate wrinkles and affect, inscribing their inherence. Pathognomy ("happy") modifies the more substantive "age"; "happy age," however, is the product of ideology, predicated on verbal lines inscribed earlier in the novel: on "the piety and benevolence of the Christian" and "the dignity and elevation of the philosopher," whose "systems, like his religion, were simple, rational, and sublime" (3.54). In

this "perfect picture," the end of a life joins the end of a narrative to forge a moral that is "exhibited" like a painting for public viewing, approbation, and instruction. Scholarly critics join sentimental readers in singling out the "family picture" of this man for especial *aesthetic* praise. John T. Dunlop writes in 1814: "There is scarcely to be found in any work of fiction a more beautiful picture than that of La Luc and his family in the third volume; and it shows that Mrs. Radcliffe was capable of painting not merely the general features of the personages in a romance but [also] the finer traits of character in a novel of real life" (417). Challenging Scott's view that Radcliffe's word painting lacks "a distinct and accurate outline" and therefore does not "communicate any absolutely precise or individual image to the reader" ("Memoir of Mrs. Ann Radcliffe," 1824, 3.379),[10] Dunlop insists on the realism of Radcliffe's iconism. Finding ideology, morals, and happy endings running along the same lines, he pronounces the lineation beautiful and proclaims this to be a realist rather than a Romantic aesthetic. In so doing, he stretches fictive lines and alignments to delineate and colonize the critical and contextual world of the novel.

Nowhere is such colonizing lineation clearer than in Gothic fiction's rhetoric of tracing, which uses traced lines to both conjoin and break down dividing lines. (When dividing lines are conjoined, they obviate their functions as dividing lines.) In Charles Maturin's *The Albigenses* (1824), "trace" is used to describe:

- The perception of objects—"none can trace the assassin" (4.24)
- Mental images—"he could trace clear images of past events" (3.188)
- Drawing images—"the pencil to trace" (3.51)
- Writing text—"cover the paper withal and trace on them the lines thy deliverers seek" (3.245)
- Reading text—"ye might write your names on its page and Paradise would have smiled as you traced them" (2.71)
- Reading indexical signs, as in astrology—"seeking and tracing the mysterious and irreversible relations, which every minute opaque orb holds to the destination of the inhabitants of its neighbor-planet" (1.237)
- Tracing facial lines—"what trace, what feature, what semblable proof of age canst thou quote in me?" (2.194)
- Tracing lineages—"she can trace him up to Charlemagne or King Arthur" (1.279)
- The hieroglyphics of heraldry—"bright with blazonry traced from achievement or tradition" (1.318)

In spite of its multiplicities and boundary crossings, the rhetoric of tracing confines, constricts, and conforms, making everything conform to the same lines. Such rhetoric, suggestive of overlaid lines, proves more oppressive than mimetic matching, which requires a space between what is matched to produce resemblance.

Although, as I argue below, Gothic fiction's uses of *trace* are at odds with Derrida's, there are continuities between them. Both explore how the trace moves between interiority and exteriority ("this trace is the opening of the first exteriority in general, the enigmatic relationship of the living to its other and of an inside to an outside" [*Of Grammatology* 70]);[11] both are concerned with the trace's navigation of presence and absence ("The presence-absence of the trace . . . carries in itself the problems of the letter and the spirit, of body and soul" [71]); both address the temporality of the trace (Derrida writes of the trace as a "mark of future and past in a present moment that is neither" and as "arche-phenomenon of 'memory' " [116, 70]). Derrida too joins the term to imprinting and chains of representation: "[I]t is in the specific zone of this imprint and this trace . . . that differences appear among the elements or rather produce them, make them emerge as such, and constitute the texts, the chains, and the systems of traces" (65). However, Derrida's primary concern with the trace is its war on the very metaphysics that underpins portraiture:

> All dualisms, all theories of the immortality of the soul or of the spirit, as well as all monism, spiritualist or materialist, dialectical or vulgar, are the unique theme of a metaphysics whose entire history was compelled to strive toward the reduction of the trace. The subordination of the trace to the full presence summed up in the logos, the humbling of writing beneath a speech dreaming its plenitude, such are the gestures required by an onto-theology determining the archeological and eschatological meaning of being as presence, as *parousia*, as life without difference. (71)

By contrast, Gothic fiction works to amplify and multiply specific, variable uses of the term *trace*. Whereas Derrida gives the trace a neither-nor or not-not function—as Spivak reads him, "Such is the strange 'being' of the sign: half of it always 'not there' and the other half always 'not that' " (introduction to *Of Grammatology* xvii)—Gothic fiction grants it a both-and-and-and (ad infinitum) function. While Derrida is concerned with a phantom, elusive, effaced trace, Gothic fiction protests the trace too much. Equally, although Spivak affirms that *trace* in French "carries strong implications of track, footprint, imprint . . . that presents itself as the mark of an anterior presence, origin, master" (xv), Gothic fiction is less concerned with the trace in relation to origin than in how tracing enables

representations to overwrite other representations even as it claims their inherence. In contrast to Derrida's interest in how the "effaced trace" produces "a play of presence and absence" (Spivak lvii), Gothic fiction manipulates the absent presence of many kinds of traces, tracing and retracing, laying one trace on top of another to inscribe difference *as* inherence and identity.

Thus, even as Gothic fiction shares with Derrida's writings an interest in how the trace or imprint configures the other in/as/not, it does so to colonize the other *and* the self *with the other* to rework social identity in the image of specific, historical, primarily bourgeois values. Spivak perceives that Derrida "gives the name 'trace' to the part played by the radically other within the structure of difference that is the sign" and that "trace-structure, everything always already inhabited by the track of something that is not itself, questions presence-structure" (xvii, lxix). As Gothic fiction actively and deliberately incorporates the image of the other, of the "not self," as engraved, internalized image within the "myself" of the heart's core, its rhetoric of tracing incorporates "not this kind of trace" into "this kind of trace." This is not a universal unconscious process, nor is it a passive, random, or even inevitable "inhabiting"; it is a localized, agenda-driven, ideological, aggressive, deliberately plotted dynamic.

To trace is to discover what has already been there as though it were new; it is to figure social conformity as individual discovery. While Derrida is keenly concerned with writing's subjugation to speech in *Of Grammatology*, Gothic fiction engages a rhetoric of tracing to deconstruct the difference between reading and writing, albeit not in Derrida's sense. In *The Italian*, a rhetoric of tracing figures reading and writing in terms of resemblance and imaging: "A drawing, half-finished, of a dancing nymph remained on a stand and he immediately understood that her hand had traced the lines. It was a copy from Herculaneum" (1.69). The observer "immediately understands" the picture's chain of tracing. His eyes trace the lines that her hand has traced; having seen these lines in Herculaneum, his memory too traces the lines that her hand has traced. Thus, as he perceives the lines, he is tracing their reading and rewriting. As in portraiture, he traces a line of imaged identities inhering in each other back to a relative, not absolute, original. Because this tracing of pictorial lines is represented in verbal lines, it joins the process of pictorial tracing to the reading and writing of words. Tracing makes reading inhere in writing even more than chains of mimetic resemblances, which require spaces between matched images to perceive them as resemblances, because reading requires tracing the lines of writing.

Against conventions that language is arbitrary and symbolic, Gothic fiction's rhetoric of tracing figures its words and its images, its writing and its reading

as *more* than mimetic—as running along the same lines. High Gothic fiction repeatedly calls upon both diegetic and extradiegetic readers to locate and trace resemblances among traces as well as faces. Such tracing extends from diegetic to extradiegetic reading. As readers of the novel trace the verbal lines that represent drawn tracings, they cross alphabetic and pictorial lines. Gothic fiction's rhetoric of tracing subjugates even mimetic resemblance to itself: "Ellena did trace a resemblance in the bold outline of the features" (Radcliffe, *The Italian* 2.304). My chapter 1 clarifies that resemblance is in discourses of the period never an identical identity; it always contains difference. However, the overlapping, overwritten lines of tracing *incorporate* difference, which is crucial to chaining new ideologies to old as though they inhere in them and to the reordering of social relations along paradoxically narrow, railroaded and expansive, colonizing lines. In the production of Gothic fiction, the author writes the lines; the printer traces and typesets them; the publisher prints and markets them; and the reader traces and retraces them. Handwriting (deemed an individuating mode of representation and therefore used to identify individuals) gives way to mass-produced typesetting. The process literalizes and reinscribes Gothic fiction's rhetoric of tracing to produce widely disseminated social and representational conformity.

Gothic fiction feeds new ideologies, epistemologies, identities, entities, discourses, and perceptions into existing chains of imaged identities, claiming inherence for what is new and revolutionary in what is old and established. In so doing, it makes what is revolutionary appear to inhere in what it revolts against. The colonizing rhetoric of portraiture further represents what is other than itself as inherent in itself. As the omnivorous rhetoric of portraiture permeates everything and makes everything inhere in itself, it all the while assiduously reshapes and reorders values, agendas, identities, ideologies, and hierarchies. The rhetoric of portraiture in fiction seeks to re-create the world via representation and, in so doing, redefines representation. Claiming epistemological, representational, and phenomenological territory, it attempts to establish a bourgeois aesthetic of portraiture as the presiding cultural and fictional iconography.

CHAPTER NINE

Desiring Picture Identification

ICONOPHILIA Love of images.

Social change and social revolution require a restructuring of desire to motivate them, as a letter to the *Spectator* attests in 1824:

> [F]or the actions of men follow their passions as naturally as light does heat or as any other effect flows from its cause; reason must be employed in adjusting the passions, but they must ever remain the principles of action. . . . The understanding being of itself too slow and lazy to exert itself into action, it is necessary it should be put into motion by the gentle gales of the passions. (T. B. 175; 177)

Likewise, any attempt to change or revolutionize iconography and iconology requires a restructuring of iconophilia.[1]

Iconophilia takes many forms, including veneration of religious icons, adoration of celebrity images, lust for pornography, ardor for pictures of lovers, affection for family portraits, and the connoisseurship of art. While the *OED* in 1989—somewhat uncharacteristically—allows only the last definition, a periodical writer in 1712 describes a variety of British iconophilias: "No nation in the world delights so much in having their own, or friends', or relations' pictures, whether from their natural good-nature or having a love to painting and not being encouraged in the great article of religious pictures, which the purity of our worship refuses the free use of" (Weather-Glass 157).

Gothic novels constitute battlegrounds on which different modes of iconophilia contest—desire for portraits as economic objects, for portraits as mediators of desire for bodies, for portraits as representations, for portraiture's aesthetics, for the absent presence that portraits connote, for the knowledge that portraits bring, and for the power, entitlement, and access that portraits grant. Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* (1796) illustrates how one form of iconophilia elides with and segues into another, even when those forms present initially as distinct and opposed. The monk declares of his cherished Madonna icon, "It is not the woman's beauty that fills me with such enthusiasm; it is the painter's skill that I admire; it is the divinity that I adore!" (1.67). But the negated iconophilia emerges as the dominant desire. Such passages have been read psychoanalytically; indeed, psychoanalysis is prevalent in discussions of portraiture and desire (see Soussloff; Woodall; Conway). Psychoanalysis, however, privileges subjective and unconscious dynamics over the social, conscious, agenda-driven, ideological dynamics with which my research is concerned and tends to flatten out the very distinctions, oppositions, and transitions among different iconophilias that this chapter investigates.

PORTRAIT ICONOPHILIA AND SOCIAL VALUE

Changes in portrait iconophilia accompany and drive changing social values. Amid competing forms of iconophilia, Gothic fiction and contemporaneous texts teach readers to eschew some forms and to adopt others in order to harness desire to particular values and agendas. In the Renaissance, portraits are valued principally because they depict titled persons or persons famous for achievements and service and because they have been painted by famous artists. Increasingly between 1764 and 1835, portraits are valued less because they depict nobles or middle-class celebrities and more because they depict parents, children, siblings, other relations, friends, and lovers (see also chapter 2). In an 1801 lecture, artist and art critic Henry Fuseli remarks:

> Since liberty and commerce have more leveled the ranks of society and more equally diffused opulence, private importance has been increased . . . and hence portrait-painting, which formerly was the exclusive property of princes or a tribute to beauty, prowess, genius, talent, and distinguished character, is now become a kind of family calendar, engrossed by the mutual charities of parents, children, brothers, nephews, cousins, and relatives of all colors. (449)

Ordinary people here achieve representation through affective, common-noun relationships rather than titled or celebrated proper names, setting a sprawling, sticky web of "mutual charities" against both the narrow, hard lines of aristocratic primogeniture and the individualism of honorific achievement.

When family portraits are seized and sold for debts, the judge in the case of *Clelland v. Weir* (21 July 1835) determines that the sentimental value of portraits is equal to or higher than their economic and class value:

> I don't care whether they were of value or not; whether they were worth three pounds or ten shillings, they were the family pictures of this gentleman and just as sacred and as worthy of regard as the first pictures in the neighboring Palace of Hamilton. Therefore, I do say to you, throwing altogether aside the intrinsic value, you are to consider merely what value this gentleman was entitled to attach to them and the disgrace to which he was subjected by their being carried off by a constable and exposed in the streets of a neighboring village. (Tawse 1835, 108–9)

Through their sentimental value, middle-class family portraits become equivalent to both religious and regal iconophilia; they are as "sacred, and as worthy of regard, as the first pictures in the neighboring Palace of Hamilton." This legal ruling renders the middle-class gentleman's private value for family portraits a public social value, supported by all the force of law.

Joining the elevation of bourgeois family iconophilia, William Godwin's *Fleetwood; or, The New Man of Feeling* (1805) represents the adoration of aristocratic and royal portraiture as ridiculous, delusional, and the product of degradation:

> I bought a portrait of this monarch; it was almost the only extravagance of which I had been guilty since my last degradation. I carried it in my pocket. On Sundays, when I had wandered into the most obscure retreat I could find, I held it in my hand; I set it before me; I talked to it and endeavored to win the goodwill of the king. Sometimes I worked myself into such a degree of fervor and enthusiasm that I could scarcely believe but that the portrait smiled upon me and, with a look of peculiar benignity, seemed to say, "Come to Versailles, and I will make your fortune!" . . . I had had his picture so often before me! The thought of him had soothed my weary steps and comforted me under all my disasters. (1.273, 2.35)

By contrast, similar diction in Charlotte Dacre's *The Libertine* (1807) represents adoration of a father's portrait as admirable, natural, and salutary:

> That beloved portrait [of my father], which [my mother's] dear hands had placed round my neck when for the last time she saw me, I gazed on every night with the

> holy fervor of a bigot, kissed and piously worshiped. It was all I could call mine; it was almost my only care. If accidentally I stumbled, unmindful of the pain or injury I might feel, I examined eagerly my portrait; if that was safe, I was indifferent to every other consideration. In sorrow it consoled me; in sickness it cured me; if despondent I but gazed on it, hope and pleasing prospects danced in my view. (4.90)

Dacre's heroine's is the proper iconophilia not only because it celebrates sentimental paternity rather than royal patriarchy but also because the daughter desires the portrait as an end in itself—as a representation, rather than as a means to an end. For the regal iconophiliac, the portrait is a means to an end, as is its subject, the king; he desires both as the means of making his fortune, which is the true object of his desire. For the filial iconophiliac, the portrait *is* her fortune: "all I could call mine"—her "only care." Such iconophilia valorizes representation over what it represents, which, my other chapters attest, is central to bourgeois ascendancy through picture identification.

Gothic fiction, however, values portraits not just for being representations but more precisely for being *mimetic* representations—"striking" and "invaluable" "likenesses" and "resemblances" of loved ones:

> What made this bracelet valuable to her was a miniature of her daughter to which it was attached, esteemed a striking resemblance. (Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, 1794, 1.26)

> He had given Olivia [a gift] that was far more valuable, a miniature of himself. It was not set in gold, nor decorated with diamonds, but it was a striking likeness and that rendered the present invaluable. (Bonhote, *Olivia; or, Deserted Bride*, 1787, 1.71)

> "Oh! how speaking is this invaluable likeness of my boy!" (Cuthbertson, *Santo Sebastiano*, 1806, 1.219)

> The countess wore upon her bosom a miniature of her son; she highly prized it, as it was considered a striking likeness. (Cullen, *The Sisters of St. Gothard*, 1819, 1.181)

Iconophilia extends in such accounts from love and desire for a specific resemblance to love and desire for mimetic resemblance *as an aesthetic principle*. As we have seen, the ordinary middle classes favored mimetic aesthetics: the definition of *portraiture* in the 1810 edition of *A General Dictionary of Commerce, Trade, and Manufacturers* proclaims, "The greatest perfection of a portrait is extreme likeness" (Mortimer n.p.). The proper iconophilia is the desire for mimetic representation—for the middle way between desire for the portrait as material object

and desire for the embodied object that the portrait represents. Mimesis works simultaneously to materialize the abstract and absent and to dematerialize the concrete and present, appearing to realize (in Martin Meisel's sense of the word) middle-class mythologies while mythologizing the materialism they serve.

Those who do not hold to this middle way of mimetic iconophilia are devalued in Gothic fiction. Those who desire portraits solely for their value as material objects, without regard to the persons they represent, are invariably represented as criminal and immoral. In *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, banditti steal a miniature for its diamond setting *alone*: "[T]hose are diamonds . . . and a rare many of them there must be, to go round such a large picture" (4.269). Its sitter means nothing to them; indeed, they mock the value he holds for its owner. Countless other novels invoke sentimental portrait iconophilia to deny the value of money and jewels, setting the value of portraits as sentimental representations over and against their market value:

> We discovered a thousand dinaras and a picture of my beloved Azilé, more dear to me than all the hoarded possessions of the eastern mines. (Holford, *Calif*, 1798, 109)

> The miniature was richly set and sparkled on my arm, but trifling were the gems compared to the precious portrait; in that lay hid all that imagination could conceive of value. (Stanhope, *The Bandit's Bride*, 1807, 4.177–8)

> [A] miniature of donna Lucia upon the lid, surrounded by brilliants, instantly caught her attention and gave her far more satisfaction than the value of the jewels that shone around it. (anon., *The Castle of Villa-Flora*, 1819, 1.189)

> So really, Theodora, you would sooner have parted with your jewels than have suffered a separation from this little bit of ivory? Well, I protest, that is saying a great deal. (Ward, *The Orphan Boy*, 1821, 63)

These passages spanning 1798 to 1821 stand in contrast to the cynical materialism of eighteenth-century picaresque fiction, epitomized by *Gil Blas*:

> I accordingly gave her the box, which, by the bright sparkling of the diamonds that adorned it, infinitely rejoiced her eyesight. She opened it and, shutting it again after having considered the painting superficially, returned to the stones, whose beauty she extolled, saying with a smile, "These are copies which we women of the stage value more than originals." (Le Sage, Smollett's translation 3.70)

Against their economic exchange value, Gothic fiction sets portraits as pseudo-religious icons, as mediums enabling viewers to look past their materiality to the

intangible. Yet their intangible values are material objects as well as ideological tenets, and even as precious metals and jewels are being verbally devalued, they are being tangibly possessed. In *The Black Robber*, a portrait comes chained—quite literally—to economic value: " '[A]s a pledge of my affection, take this miniature,' continued she, presenting at the same time a valuable likeness of herself, suspended to a chain of brilliants" (Ball 1819, 2.339). Although the portrait is given as a pledge of intangible affection in lieu of the lover's possession of her corporeal body, and although its declared value lies in its likeness to its sitter, it comes "suspended to a chain of brilliants." Nonmimetic brilliants stand apart from the mimetic forms that constitute the official, didactically avowed value of the portrait, yet they attach the portrait to an economic exchange value. The literal sense of "suspend" is to hang from above; the word evokes both the processes by which likeness to family portraits attaches apparent orphans to aristocratic family trees and the ways in which the rhetoric of portraiture attaches nonresembling cultural values and discursive claims to chains of imaged identities (see chapters 2 and 8). However, "suspended" also suggests temporary cessation and postponement. Portrait iconophilia, then, allows persons to simultaneously eschew and embrace materialism.

Elsewhere, portraiture's sentimental value trumps its aesthetic value. Hartley Coleridge's "Modest Defense of Painting" (1832) remarks: "Much is said about the vanity of plain-looking, insignificant people sitting for their pictures, as if forsooth anybody was insignificant by his own fire-side, or as if we would have no affection for our friends' visages or our own without fancying them handsome" (33). James Broaden goes further to set the sentimental value of especially mimetic portraits above the aesthetic values of the art world and the celebration of artists: "In nearly all families, you find some inferior portrait which is there preferred to the finer picture. The one, they will tell you, is reckoned a capital performance of the great master of the time, but the other is the exact resemblance of their relation. In the one you think of the painter, in the other of the sitter" (1824, 11). In Louisa Sidney Stanhope's *The Bandit's Bride* (1807), "[p]aintings by the most approved masters decorated the walls—but all were alike disregarded, for the eyes of Adelbert alone sought the portrait of the lady Adela" (2.118). In Catherine Cuthbertson's *Forest of Montalbano* (1810), although a heroine's portrait has been painted by the most celebrated painter in Florence, when it is auctioned, "no one . . . thought that picture worth purchasing, since those whom it represented were prized only by my father and those who loved him" (1.34–5). This passage suggests that private sentimental iconophilia has become a public value, affecting the economic value of portraits.

A lack of personal acquaintance with the subjects of portraits equally negates their lineal and historical value in Regina Maria Roche's *The Maid of the Hamlet* (1800):

> From hence he led them to the picture gallery, which contained a numerous as well as a choice collection of paintings; among these a number of family portraits were conspicuous, but these, as totally uninteresting to those who were neither acquainted nor connected with the originals, were looked over in silence by the guests of Bromley, to his great mortification, not on account of any veneration he felt for them, but merely because it deprived him of an opportunity of expatiating on the antiquity and consequence of his family; of the virtues or renown that perhaps distinguished some members of it, he never thought; it was of titles and descent, not of merit and glory, he was proud. (1.219–20)

Rising above the aristocratic values of "titles and descent" and the middle-class celebrity status of "merit and glory," the commoner values of being "acquainted" and "connected with the originals" determine the value of portraits and, importantly for this study of picture identification's mythologies, whether they are allowed to be starting points for narratives.

If some writers valorize sentimental over aesthetic value, others aestheticize bourgeois values and identities. *The Castle of Wolfenbach* makes beauty or its lack the product of class values and lifestyles:

> [G]enerally speaking, the middling ranks of people are by far the handsomest of both sexes and I account for it in this manner. In fashionable circles they keep very late hours, play deep, enter into every scheme for amusement and dissipation. . . . Their ill hours, deforming their lovely faces by the anxiety of avarice, envy, and passion when at their midnight orgies . . . destroys their beauty. (Parsons, 1793, 72)

Like Lavater, Parsons equates beauty with bourgeois morality; like Knox, she explicates aristocratic economic and political decline in moral terms.

Edmund Burke addresses the role of beauty in the production of social bonds:

> Men are carried to the sex in general . . . but they are attached to particulars by personal beauty. I call beauty a social quality, for where women and men . . . give us a sense of joy and pleasure in beholding them . . . they inspire us with sentiments of tenderness and affection towards their persons; we like to have them near us and we enter willingly into a kind of relation with them. (*The Sublime and the Beautiful* 142–3)

Burke distinguishes aesthetic from sexual desire: the former is specific and sentimental, inspiring "tenderness and affection"; the latter is generic and animalistic. Yet beauty mystifies Burke: "[W]e cannot perceive distinctly what it is" (143). But subsequent discourses, such as *The Castle of Wolfenbach*, use picture identification to didactically code, fix, and circulate classed ideologies of beauty, while others, such as *Family Portraits*, invoke picture identification to tie desire for beauty to desire for classed values (see my introduction).

Ruth Perry has identified a shift from kinship based in blood relations to kinship forged by conjugal ties in popular English literature between 1748 and 1818. First-wave Gothic fiction certainly supports her argument. However, its portrait iconophilia undertakes a further shift from kinship based in blood relations *and* conjugal relations to valorize kinship based in *sentimental, platonic* relations. We have seen how sentimental portrait iconophilia assaults aristocratic values by shifting the value of portraiture from titles, proper nouns, and reputations to common nouns, common social relations, and terms of endearment. Fiction frequently sets sentimental *against* erotic desire. Aristocratic ideology is based in procreation; therefore, bourgeois discourses seek both to undermine and to outdo procreative drives, as well as to harness them in the service of bourgeois interests.

Sentiment emerges as the dominant desire not only in fiction but in other texts as well. Indeed, the discourse on sentiment was then as substantial and mainstream as psychoanalysis is now. The *OED*'s obsolete definitions of *sentiment* indicate the term's migration from a multisemantic use—encompassing emotion, physical sensation, and moral principles driving action and judgment, attitudes, thoughts, opinions, personal experience—to a more constricted use, indicating "refined and tender emotion," to its current "derisive use, conveying an imputation of either insincerity or mawkishness."[2] Sentiment is associated with various entities in the eighteenth century (emotion, instinct, intuition, subjectivity, nature, morality, aesthetics, and social relations) and opposed to others (reason, judgment, deduction, objectivity, empiricism, and religious principles). The polysemy and contradictions in its usage have produced numerous critical disagreements: sentiment has been attacked as artificial and unnatural *and* proclaimed utterly natural; it has been deemed personal *and* social, private *and* universal; it has been decreed a religious impulse *and* opposed to religious theologies; it has been declared a mode of experience *and* hostile to empiricism (all the more so as it became medicalized and physiologized). It is beyond the scope of this discussion and unnecessary to engage these debates more broadly, because other critics have done so ably.[3] My argument here is limited to its role in portrait

iconophilia. Whereas Shearer West reads sentimental portraiture as a lapse in power ("Portraits of the artist's friends, miniatures, caricatures and portraits of lower-class subjects are a few examples of categories in which power conventions could be abandoned" ["Patronage and Power" 145]), my research suggests that sentiment greatly augmented portraiture's psychological and ideological power, power with real-world social, political, and economic effects.

Sentiment plays a vital role in the construction of social bonds and the distribution of economic resources, which are, after all, bestowed not only upon the titled and the achieving but also upon relatives and the beloved. Courtship and marriage are not simply institutions in which men exchange women to enhance their own economic and political power;[4] neither is exchange value governed solely by battles between landed and industrial classes or by dialectics between capital and labor.

Although some Gothic fiction, such as Matthew Lewis's *The Monk* and Peter Will's *The Victim of Magical Delusion*, is concerned with the erotic tantalization of portraits and with the hidden body parts that portraits simultaneously suggest and withhold,[5] more often the secrets of portraiture are not so much covered sexual organs as covert middle-class agendas located in the face, which is, as prior chapters have shown, the index of bourgeois identity and value. Will's hero describes the carnal knowledge and erotic desire that a half-uncovered bosom awakens—"[I] discovered charms which had been concealed from my eyes when viewing in a kind of ecstasy the lovely original"—and then bestows a "burning kiss" on the portrait's painted breasts (91). Similarly, when Lewis's monk sees a pornographic striptease in a magical mirror, "[h]is desires were worked up to frenzy" (2.68). In most Gothic fiction, however, iconophilia is not so much directed at a sexualized body—the hidden sexual organs read psychoanalytically—as at a naked face, read physiognomically. In *The Castle of Otranto*, "[h]is *person* was noble, handsome, and commanding, even in that situation, but his *countenance* soon engrossed her whole care" (Walpole 1764, 78, emphasis added). Matilda turns from both Theodore's "noble, handsome, and commanding" body and the portrait that he resembles to focus on his face and moral character: "I know the adoration with which I look at that picture is uncommon—but I am not in love with a colored panel"; she is in love with the "character of that virtuous prince" (50). While Theodore blends bourgeois and aristocratic virtues (see chapter 4), other Gothic fiction codes virtuous character in purely bourgeois terms. A heroine in Charlotte Smith's *Montalbert* (1795)

> took out the picture he had given her and, for the third time since it had been in her possession, fixed her eyes earnestly upon it. The candor and integrity of the countenance struck her particularly. "Never, (sighed she), can the heart that belongs to these features be otherwise than generous, tender, and sincere." She was thus feeding the infant passion which had taken entire possession of her mind and was lost in thought, holding the picture still in her hand. (1.116)

"Candor and integrity" are bourgeois virtues (see chapter 3). Although she possesses the portrait, the ideologies and identities it mediates take "entire possession of her mind," causing her to lose herself in them. Catherine Cuthbertson's *Romance of the Pyrenees* (1803) goes further to idealize bourgeois values as sublime and beautiful in "the miniature portrait of a man, young and transcendently handsome." Vying with elevated social status that brings with it possession of power, privilege, and property, this man's transcendent beauty "seems to proclaim the possession of many mental as well as personal perfections"; its eyes "speak the language of a heart replete with virtues and a mind glowing with every grace that wisdom and genius could inspire" (2.33–4). A heroine in Maria Regina Roche's *The Houses of Osma and Almeria* (1810) similarly turns to picture identification to locate her beloved's elevation in his "soul" and "disposition" rather than his corporeal body or social position: "His picture . . . became the dear companion of my lonely hours. In the beaming eye, in the hovering smile, I saw all that elevation of soul, that sweetness of disposition" (226).

Joining the bourgeois attacks on idealist aesthetics addressed in chapter 3, then, are new modes of bourgeois idealization. We saw in chapter 4 how miniatures take on pseudo-religious properties, etherealizing dead mothers. But the effect is more general, aesthetic, and formal:

> Every one, it will be allowed, wishes to appear as handsome and as fascinating as possible and, in assisting this *laudable desire*, this *pigmy* class of pictures, if I may so express myself, possesses many advantages which those of the larger one do not. In the last, each striking deformity, every strange defect in one's air or appearance must be brought to view, or else the poor painter is accused of flattery and a want of truth in his performance. Now in the first, many of these difficulties are evidently obviated . . . loveliness itself beams forth more lovely, since it seems less earthly, and acquires, as it were, an ethereal aspect from the softness and delicacy of the colors, together with the fairy-like appearance which pervades it. (Amoroso 1826, 290–1, emphasis in original)

Like Gulliver's perception of the Lilliputians and the Brobdingnagdians' perception of him, miniaturization has a glamorizing effect, lending its subjects "an ethereal aspect" and "fairy-like appearance" that idealizes them. But because miniature painting idealizes from necessity rather than choice, the form appears less morally culpable than larger portraits deliberately idealized.

Male beauty in Gothic fiction arouses not only erotic but also *political* desire. In *The Castle of Otranto*, women desire the rankless Theodore not only as lover but also as ruler. A young female servant declares her admiration for the young peasant to the aging prince: he is "as comely a youth as ever trod on Christian ground," she confesses, "We are all in love with him; there is not a soul in the castle but would be rejoiced to have him for our prince—I mean, when it shall please heaven to call you to itself" (172). Desire for the current ruler's death is embedded in the expression of desire for the new ruler.

Repeatedly in Gothic fiction, male beauty directs female desire away from the bodies of older, wealthier, titled men to younger, lower-status men. In Elizabeth Bonhote's *Bungay Castle* (1796), "the unknown stranger, who belonged to no one—who was without fortune and deprived of that freedom which is the birthright of the poorest peasant . . . was an object more captivating and far more valuable in her eyes than the lordly Baron in a stately castle" (132). Social value lies "in her eyes" rather than in his "stately castle," again vaunting the power of perception to determine the value of imaged identities. Although this and other unknown strangers are subsequently identified as displaced aristocrats, their social value is first established on the basis of youth, beauty, and moral character, *apart* from birth and family. Such identifications produce a paradigm for the newer, rising middle classes, who simultaneously declare their value apart from aristocratic birth while aspiring to possess its privileges and property.

As chapter 6 has shown, picture identification also classes and moralizes female beauty, arousing and disappointing desire in heterosexual women as well as men. In *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, Emily reads the portrait of "a lady in the flower of youth and beauty" against the bourgeois ideal it fails to meet: the portrait

> had little of the captivating sweetness that Emily had looked for and still less of the pensive mildness she loved. It was a countenance which spoke the language of passion rather than that of sentiment: a haughty impatience of misfortune—not the placid melancholy of a spirit injured, yet resigned. (2.310)

The portrait fails to satisfy desire for the bourgeois values "that Emily had looked for" and "loved"; it equally manifests the wrong kind of desire, speaking "the lan-

guage of passion rather than of sentiment." Picture identification here provides a medium through which a heroine can reject passionate desire.

By contrast, a stolen miniature in the same novel nourishes illicit, unreciprocated desire for Emily's body in an unworthy and undesired suitor: "[T]he portrait I stole has contributed to nourish a passion, which must still be my torment" (3.292–3). He steals it as carnal appetizer and prelude to possession of the heroine's body. Even as the self-confessed thief returns the miniature, apparently relinquishing his claims, he seizes and kisses the reluctant heroine's hand (3.294).

Two years later, *The Monk* carries carnal iconophilia further, overpowering both aesthetic and religious iconophilia:

> Sometimes his dreams presented the image of his favorite Madonna and he fancied that he was kneeling before her. As he offered up his vows to her, the eyes of the figure seemed to beam on him with inexpressible sweetness. He pressed his lips to hers and found them warm: the animated form started from the canvas, embraced him affectionately, and his senses were unable to support delight so exquisite. (1.117–8)

As carnal desire overwhelms aesthetic and spiritual desires, the portrait becomes animated. This is neither the seeming animation produced by a portrait's realist aesthetics (as in *The Sisters of St Gothard*, discussed below) nor a ghostly animation (like those in *Otranto* and *Melmoth*, addressed in chapters 4 and 5); rather, it is an incarnation (fig. 9.1).

Carnal iconophilia produces a carnalization that destroys the portrait's function as a religious icon mediating between the divine and the human. Where there should be only image representing spirit, the body reenters the chain of imaging, overwhelming and devouring both soul and portrait with its drives, overriding religious and aesthetic iconophilia with carnal desire. The positioning of carnal iconophilia in a dream frame renders the portrait simultaneously too present as body and not present at all—a substantial manifestation of desire without substance. Incarnation, when it finally occurs, destroys portraiture as the middle way. In fact, it destroys everything, beginning with rival modes of iconophilia.

The devil further adapts the monk's reordering of soul → body → portrait sequencing to turn religious iconolatry into blasphemous iconoclasm, aesthetic admiration into pornographic lust, and erotic iconophilia into incestuous rape and familial murder: "I observed your blind idolatry of the Madonna's picture. I bade a subordinate but crafty spirit assume a similar form" (3.310). The "crafty

Figure 9.1. Frontispiece to vol. 1, Matthew G. Lewis, *The Monk: A Romance.* 3 vols. Paris: Theophilus Barrois, 1807. Engraved by Lafitte after Louis Lafitte. *EC8 L5875M 1807a, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

spirit" disrupts portraiture's spirit → body → portrait sequence by incarnating the body that sat for the portrait. In so doing, it positions the portrait first, the spirit second, and the body last, displacing the body that sat for the portrait, the artist who painted the portrait, and the signification of the portrait. In aesthetic terms, the crafty spirit serves as secondary artist, crafting the portrait as secondary rather than primary or original body. In semiotic terms, the crafty spirit is an unstable signifier posing as and usurping the original signified while obscuring its own signification. In theological terms, counterpoising the word made flesh, it is the *image* made flesh. It returns the deified, transcendent Madonna back to flesh and makes the virgin mother a carnal whore.

The "wrong" iconophilia thus destroys the traditional hierarchy of imaged identities: divine spirit, body, and portrait. That pattern then occurs in reverse. Iconoclasm comes first: "[H]is eye fell upon the picture of his once-admired Madonna. He tore it with indignation from the wall; he threw it on the ground and spurned it from him with his foot. 'The Prostitute!' " (2.30). Even as he destroys the portrait with his body and its ideological significance with his words, he does not destroy the body of the portrait made flesh: he retains the body, because that is his primary desire. The religious icon serves as medium for the body rather than the soul; the centrality of the body and procreative desires to aristocratic ideology and power lurks in the subtexts of this narrative.

Carnal iconophilia leads the monk to destroy not only his religious identity but also his familial identity. The crafty spirit subsequently shows him a moving image in a magic mirror, a virgin bathing who is, unbeknownst to him, his sister. The image arouses desire; he rapes and murders her and kills her mother (who is also his mother) when she tries to intervene. The two women occupy the symbolic identities of the Madonna—virgin and mother—in a secular context that casts him as "Inhuman Parricide! Incestuous Ravisher!" (3.310). Carnal iconophilia, then, sets him simultaneously at enmity with and too intimately within his family. In the end, the monk's preference for carnal iconophilia destroys not only other forms of iconophilia and the bodies of others but his own physical, spiritual, and social existence as well.

Portraits, however, have power to save as well as to destroy. Whereas for Lewis's pure and high-minded monk, seeing a holy image as though it were a woman initiates his fall, for *Barozzi*'s debauched libertine, seeing a woman as though she were a holy image inaugurates his salvation: "Rosalva, the gay, the libertine Rosalva, for the first time in his life felt love in its pure state, uncorrupted and free from all sensual desires . . . he contemplated her with such adoration and respect as a sinner pays to the image of a favorite saint" (Catherine Smith,

1815, 23). The passage proclaims the higher power of representation over the represented and the centrality of representation to maintaining and representing proper social relations.

PORTRAIT ICONOPHILIA AND THE MEDIATION OF DESIRE

> Decet affectus animi neque se nimium erigere, nec subjacere serviliter.
> [We should keep our passions from being exalted above measure, or servilely depressed.]
>
> —Tertullian, quoted as an epigraph in letter from T. B. to the *Spectator* (1824)

As we have seen, portraiture's connotations of presence and absence allow people to simultaneously eschew and embrace desire. On the one hand, iconophilia fuels middle-class ideology with desire; on the other, it mediates and moderates passions and desires, conforming them to bourgeois agendas. A letter from T. B. to the *Spectator* in 1824 addresses the need for a middle way between "exalted" and "depressed" passions:

> We must therefore be very cautious, lest, while we think to regulate the passions, we should quite extinguish them, which is putting out the light of the soul; for to be without passion or to be hurried away with it makes a man equally blind. . . .
>
> Since, therefore, the passions are the principles of human actions, we must endeavor to manage them so as to retain their vigor, yet keep them under strict command; we must govern them rather like free subjects than slaves, lest, while we intend to make them obedient, they become abject and unfit for those great purpose to which they were designed. (177–8)

Protesting against excessive evangelical severity in schools and "that sect of philosophers who so much insisted upon an absolute indifference and vacancy from all passion" (178), T. B. recommends "constitution, education, custom of the country, reason, and the like causes" to "improve or abate the strength of" the passions (176). His letter joins other texts positing various ways to moderate and mediate the passions, including reason, religion, conscience, education, experience, age, contemplation of death, divine mercy, correct doctrine, sympathy or moral sentiment, social duty, social contracts, institutions, the desires of others, awareness of reality, imagination, fantasy, fear, and punishment. More recent thinkers have suggested the Freudian ego, the Lacanian law of the father,

knowledge, biology, chemicals, cultural customs, cultural objects, cultural rituals, the arts, and symbolic signs.[6] My interest lies in how portraits and portrait iconophilia arouse, moderate, and mediate competing desires.

In T. B.'s letter, *improving* the strength of the passions joins the more familiar discussion of abating them. Both are required for the restructuring of desire and in Gothic fiction, portraits do both. A portrait enables an imprisoned heroine to relieve "depressed spirits" in *Belleville Lodge* (1793): "As I passed the room where the late Duchess's portrait was I burst into a flood of tears, which a little relieved my depressed spirits" (2.281). Another heroine turns to portraiture after both nature and imagination fail to produce the object of her desire. Following her lover's departure, she laments the loss of his picture identification in nature—his image reflected in the lake and his initials carved on the bark of a tree (Stanhope, *The Bandit's Bride* 4.176–7). Imagination likewise fails to arouse the emotion she desires: "I pictured his return with an emotion I vainly endeavored to resolve." However, she finds her desired emotion through his portrait: "[N]ever shall I forget the exultation of the moment when the features so deeply engraven on my heart were delineated on the paper—when I saw the eyes, now lost in absence, turned full upon me and traced in every finished line the resemblance of Hubert!" The portrait simultaneously produces her desire and conceals it; in the portrait "lay hid all that imagination could conceive of value" (4.177–8).

As portraits awaken and satisfy desire, they also curb and moderate it. When, in *The Castle of Otranto*, "[t]he lovely Matilda had made stronger impressions on [Theodore] than filial affection," the Friar, who is both Theodore's natural and religious father, places him before the funerary portrait of Alfonso, Theodore's grandfather and his own father-in-law: "Reply not, but view this holy image! . . . mark this miraculous indication that the blood of Alfonso will never mix with that of Manfred!" (159). Here aristocratic patriarchy militates against erotic desire that would produce a mixed-class marriage. Here the portrait of one person moderates desire for the body of another. However, because Theodore "exactly resembles" Alfonso's portrait, it is in some sense his *own* image that moderates his desire. The portrait reidentifies him with aristocratic patriarchy and its desires.

Whereas in *Otranto* the patriarchal portrait curbs erotic desire to protest interclass marriage, more often in Gothic fiction portraits moderate erotic desire to conform heroes and heroines to middle-class mores. The hero of Richard Sickelmore's *Osrick; or, Modern Horrors* (1809) unwraps a package:

> His pleasure was beyond expression, when, on removing the papers that enveloped it, he beheld
>
> A Miniature,
>
> well executed and set in gold, of the loved object from whom he had received it.—Next to the original, it was the prize he most wished for and he gazed on it with a rapture such as those only who have loved with a passion pure and fervent as his was can conceive. (2.104–5)

While the passage figures the portrait as less "wished for" than "the original," it represents both as objects: the sitter is "loved object"; the portrait is "prize." As theories of immanence allow for metaphysical fluidity between persons and portraits, metaphors create material continuities by objectifying both, shoring up ideology on both sides of each metaphor. The portrait permits by proxy what moral and cultural codes do not allow in person, arousing sexual desire without violating sexual taboos. Although he cannot undress its sitter, he can unwrap the miniature. A medley of poetic quotations articulates the portrait's mediation of extremes:

> Where strictest virtue, softest love unite,
> How fierce the rapture and the blaze how bright!
> True joys proceed from innocence and love
> . . . . . .
> virtuous passion prompts the great resolve
> And fans the slumbering spark of heav'nly fire.
> . . . Love is a passion
> Which kindles honor into noble acts. (2.105)

Uniting strictness and softness, ferocity and innocence, passion and virtue, and erotic desire productive of "noble acts," the portrait occupies the mediating position later accorded the ego by Freud. Rather than functioning as a universal principle, however, it operates as a specific culturally coded artifact. In contrast to psychoanalytic models, it juxtaposes rather than opposes or merges opposites, like passion and virtue. Didactically yoked rather than unconsciously melded, their juxtaposition intensifies each rather than moderating both into a psychological middle ground. Portrait iconophilia here forges a middle way that *intensifies* desire rather than diminishing it. In contrast to (yet bearing affinity with) the "dissipated" man of fortune who also desires the heroine but has "no wish to be encumbered with . . . the sober trammels of wedlock" (1.48), the portrait enables Osrick to possess the heroine without wedlock *and* without stinting passion. As

with Lewis's monk, iconophilia fuels mental images—waking fantasies of consummation and night dreams of presence:

> A thousand times did he kiss the precious gift he had received—it seemed to give him assurance of the many happy moments that were in store for him to be enjoyed with the *object* of his adoration and, thrilling his soul with pleasing hopes, gave new ecstasies to thought.
>
> Suspending the miniature by a ribbon from his neck and resolving ever to wear it next his heart, he at length retired to bed and, when sleep o'erpowered him, his Althea was present in his dreams. (2.106, emphasis added)

Osrick maintains the proper desire for representation, resisting both religious abstraction and carnalization, thereby avoiding the pitfalls of Lewis's monk. He places the miniature on his body with a vow of eternal fidelity *to the portrait* in language tinged with the diction of marriage vows: "I have the picture . . . about me—it is my heart's dearest companion—and rather than lose it, I'd part with life!" (3.9). He personifies the portrait as partner ("my heart's dearest companion"). Such rhetoric is commonplace in the period—for example, "a picture is a companion, and the next thing to the presence of what it represents" (Leigh Hunt 289). Here too, the language is one of juxtaposition rather than merger. Indeed, juxtaposition forefends against taboo mergers, such as those forced by Lewis's monk.

Portraits fuel and moderate desire by maintaining tension between presence and absence. Hartley Coleridge articulates how such tensions are used for social control:

> Who that bears his true love's token in his bosom, even in a foreign land, would break his plighted faith? Who, with a father's picture looking from his walls, would disobey that father's parting charge? . . . Hence the value of all art, all means and instruments that make the absent present—constructing in sense itself a counterbalance to the despotism of sense: as letters, keepsakes, crooked sixpences, bibles mutually given and received, braided locks of hair, busts, portraits, and epitaphs. (1832, 33)

The mediating materiality of portraits and other tokens, then, constructs "in sense itself a counterbalance to the despotism of sense." It furthermore mediates one's own desires with the desires of others whom one desires to please.

The absent presence of portraits, however, equally establishes sites for uncensured social transgression. The origins of miniatures in illuminated manuscripts and religious iconography bring a pseudo-sacred power to their iconophilia,

sanctioning and sanctifying passions toward him that would never be tolerated in social spheres toward the persons they represent. Virtuous heroines in Gothic fiction gaze freely at and lavishly kiss portraits of lovers, cherishing them in their bosoms without a shred of guilt. The portrait marks the absence of the lover's forbidden body even as the heroine gives its image present and intimate access to hers.

Portrait iconophilia furthermore licenses and opens spaces for ferocity, possessiveness, obsession, and resistance to social authority, even in the most innocent and docile of Gothic heroines. Otherwise submissive women, such as Ellena in *The Italian* (1797), are roused to uncharacteristic defiance and entitlement in defense of portraits: "I cannot part with it, holy father!" (Radcliffe 2.297). Her resistance to a "holy father" is exculpated by loyalty to an image of her earthly father,[7] asserting the higher authority of nuclear family patriarchy over institutional patriarchy. When the portrait turns out to be of the "holy father" himself, the representation of a man opposes his body, asserting the authority of his representation in her possession over his embodied authority in the social sphere.

Miniatures here and elsewhere offer threatening rehearsal and conceptual spaces for social revolution. Where the body is constrained, representation frees; where the body cannot legitimately express passion or defiance, representation enables both. As Osrick sees the portrait as a promise of future possession, so too does Gothic fiction.

Where portraits do not already exist as points from which to resist authority, heroines produce them. Far more often than men, women in Gothic fiction are painters of portraits. Agnes in *The Monk* paints a self-portrait and caricatures a surly governess. Emily in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* forges a friendship with a woman through drawing her. Rosa in *Rosabella* (1817) sketches her lover and secretly wears his portrait, entering a clandestine relationship *with the portrait* that manifests both innocence and transgression (Cuthbertson 3.288).

Women are not simply private and amateur portraitists in Gothic fiction. In *Rosabella*, Mrs. Gore is an accomplished painter; in *Barford Abbey* (1768), a fictional Joshua Reynolds praises a woman's portraits as "masterly," conferring masculine power on her art (Gunning 1.103). As producers of portraits, women join female readers of portraits to claim iconographical and iconological authority in a devalued representational sphere.

In *The Bandit's Bride*, the heroine values not only the portrait's ability to renovate her desire but also her own ability to produce the portrait. Producing portraits empowers by making visually and emotionally present what social conventions and obligations have made physically absent and what nature and imagination

have failed to supplement. The heroine of *The Bandit's Bride* also seeks to reconstruct her *own* identity through portraiture. After she paints her lover's portrait, she determines: "The set was incomplete—a companion was wanting: I thought of my father—but why should my father's picture be the partner of Hubert's? The brush trembled in my hand—my heart dictated—and my own likeness became the correspondent" (4.178). Her decision to produce herself as companion portrait constitutes a rejection of both her own desire for her father and his desires regarding whom she will marry. Her rejection of patriarchal desire is revealed subsequently to be incestuous, since Hubert is her half brother. As I have argued elsewhere (Elliott, "Recovering *fraternité*"), the solidarity of sibling bodies against patriarchal power is central to the discourse and imagery of democracy in this period. The restructuring of desire from vertical, hierarchical, parent-child lines to horizontal, democratic, sibling lines challenges political as well as familial patriarchies. Ellen Pollak attests that the "construction of incest has its roots in discourses of political and religious liberation" (4). Pollak discerns a consensus in the writings of Freud, Lévi-Strauss, Lacan, Derrida, Foucault, Mitchell, and Butler that incest simultaneously affirms and subverts patriarchal power, directing desire toward what limits it. Drawing on Foucault's ideas about incest, she argues that a text regulates "desire through the mechanism of its discursive production" (18).

While officially portraits moderate desire by forging a middle way between celibacy and concupiscence, self-sacrifice and self-assertion, dependence and freedom, between "the stale restrictions of the fathers" and "a life which owns no law but inclination" (Stanhope, *The Confessional of Valombre*, 1812, 2.262), portrait iconophilia contributes to the myth of a "higher middle way"—of middle-class superiority to the classes both above and beneath it, as narratives of portrait iconophilia in Gothic fiction assert the power of platonic sentiment over the violent and lustful desires associated with both villainous aristocrats and lower-class banditti. A periodical writer in 1812 recounts the popular belief that "sentiment is an amiable quality of the mind, which . . . frequently checks those sallies of angry passions, which, if not prevented, would soon render harmony and peace very precarious" ("On Liberality of Sentiment" 182).

The higher middle way of portrait iconophilia goes further than mediating between the desirer and the desired to *displace* the desired with desire for representation. This is especially apparent in those not uncommon instances where a Gothic hero or heroine falls in love with a portrait *before* he or she meets "the original." In *The Castle of Otranto*, Matilda falls in love with the portrait Theodore "exactly resembles" before she meets him. The heroine of *Romance of the Pyrenees*

and the first-generation hero and heroine of *The Houses of Osma and Almeria* too fall in love with portraits before they meet their "originals" (Cuthbertson 2.33–4; Roche 215, 222). In *The Castle of Villa-Flora* (1819), one woman paints a man's portrait for another so that she can fall in love with him *before* they meet. In such instances, portraits awaken desire apart from bodies. Making portraits primary and persons secondary ensures that live bodies will be perceived and desired according to portraiture's previews.

PORTRAIT ICONOPHILIA AND PATRIARCHAL REFORM

> Now which to woo—thee or thy mother—
> I know not, you're so like each other.
> —William Kennedy, "Family Likeness" (1827, 64)

Much as Paine and other political writers recommend mimetic political representation to rescue the nation from the abuses of aristocracy and monarchy, Gothic fiction invokes mimetic portrait representation to save heroines from the abuses of violent and rapacious patriarchs. The first instance occurs in the first Gothic novel, *The Castle of Otranto*, when the animated portrait of Manfred's grandfather saves Isabella from rape and/or forced marriage. But the animated portrait offers only temporary rescue; Manfred must undergo an extended onslaught by patriarchal portraits before he relinquishes his tyrannical political claims. In subsequent Gothic fiction, portraits more often reform abusive patriarchal desires *within* patriarchs, replacing them with bourgeois family sentiment. In Charlotte Turner Smith's *Emmeline* (1788), a portrait causes a ruthless uncle to desist from forcing his niece to marry against her will. Assuming that a portrait she cherishes represents a rival lover, he insists that she relinquish it to him. The portrait, however, represents her father, his brother and a fellow-patriarch, and is a "likeness so striking" that it "had an immediate effect on him." Unlike Manfred's despotism, his tyranny is curbed by iconophilia rather than iconophobia: "His brother seemed to look at him mournfully. . . . He found the tears fill his eyes as he gazed upon the picture." Tears of sentiment transform his view: instead of seeing a woman that he can exchange with other men to argument his power and property, he sees that "[t]he poor distressed Emmeline was the only memorial of" his brother (2.15–6). Sentimental value here supersedes exchange value, and family resemblance overrides matrimonial politics.

Matriarchal portraits too reconstruct desire, power, and social relations, as chapter 4 attests. In *The Houses of Osma and Almeria*, maternal iconophilia causes

a knight to "draw back," tempering male erotic attraction with maternal "sacred reverence":

> "[The portrait] is to me indeed attractive," said Donna Clara, "but you will not wonder at that when I inform you that"—her voice faltering as she spoke—"that is the portrait of the daughter I lament."
>
> At these words, Sir Lorenzo drew back, with something of sacred reverence in his look in order *to have a still better view of it*; then turning to the sorrowing mother—"Had I been capable before," he cried, "of wondering at your regrets, that wonder would now have ceased."
>
> . . . a kind of tender reverence for the memory of her lost daughter was excited in the romantic mind of the young knight by the particulars which Donna Clara gave him of her and, with sensations such as the pensive pilgrim approaches the shrine of a worshipped saint, he more than once again sought opportunities of viewing her resemblance. (215, emphasis added)

The mother's view is "the better view." The knight identifies with the mother's desire rather than his own; his "tender reverence" is "for the memory of *her* lost daughter"; it is *her* desire that excites his "romantic mind." His desire is not only fused with the mother's desire; it is furthermore desire *for* the mother's desire and a desire for his desire to *resemble* hers.

Maternal iconophilia equally rescues heroines from destroying their social value through their *own* lustful desires. In Catherine G. Ward's *Family Portraits* (1824), a heroine prays to her dead mother's portrait, seeking protection from "the influence of that destructive passion which is the bane and enemy of all womankind." The mother's portrait joins cold water to cool the daughter's "panting bosom": "With these words Emma returned her mother's picture to her panting bosom and, bathing her temples with a glass of cold water, found herself considerably relieved of all those uncomfortable sensations which had so painfully depressed her spirits before she arose from table" (158). Maternal iconophilia equally revives depressed spirits, satisfying both of T. B.'s criteria for moderating the passions.

Elsewhere, sentimental portrait iconophilia manifests fatal and avenging as well as generative and salutary power. In Catherine Cuthbertson's *The Hut and the Castle* (1823), the son of a murdered man confronts his father's killer:

> The pale yet interesting Cameron arose . . . [and] held a miniature portrait in full view . . . "Look on this portrait. Does not this send daggers through your guilty soul?"

> It did seem to send forth weapons of some direful nature, for the moment his glaring eyes rested on the picture, he uttered a horrible yell, the hue of death overspread his visage, and his whole frame shook with convulsive agitation. (1.221)

Theories of Foucaultian surveillance and psychoanalytic gazing emphasize the power of the looker over the looked-at; picture identification reverses such power relations, championing the power of the image over those who look on it. The portrait arouses emotions that effect an interchange of iconophilia and iconophobia, life and death, and weakness and power. The filial iconophilia of the "pale yet interesting Cameron" is counterpoised to the iconophobia of his father's killer. Although the embodied victim could not terrorize his murderer, his portrait now can. Through immanence, the portrait raises the soul of the deceased, a manifestation that a guilty conscience exacerbates into haunting. The portrait represents the victim as alive; looking at his portrait affectively stabs the patriarch, producing a cry of terror and pain, painting the color of death on his face, and convulsing his body.

Exhibiting a portrait similarly grants "courage and intrepidity" to an "enfeebled," "timid" woman and causes the aristocratic tyrant who looks on it to "fall lifeless" in Spence's *Old Stories* (1822):

> She spoke not and, drawing from her bosom with slow and solemn action a miniature of Owen, she held it up to Earl Warren . . . with her finger pointed to him to look upon the portrait . . . Elwyna, with fearless arm, forced Earl Warren beneath the holy lamp . . . She motioned him to gaze upon the dove-like countenance, which long he fancied had been buried beneath that river which rolled its waves around Holt Castle. He shrunk with horror and affright . . . and covering his face with his vestments, fell lifeless on the steps of the altar. Earl Warren, whose towering pride, whose dauntless conduct moved all around him, dared not lift his guilty eye to look . . . Elwyna looked back with wonder at her courage and intrepidity in the conduct she had just pursued, enfeebled as she was by illness, and naturally of a timid disposition. (147–50)

But the power dynamic in these scenes and others like them is not simply one of exhibiting versus looking or being seen versus seeing; it is equally a power of iconophilia over iconophobia.

Most intriguing of all, however, are those narratives in which villainous Gothic patriarchs are terrorized and transformed by encounters with their *own* portraits. There is a long-standing religious and literary tradition in which men are converted by encounters with texts, beginning with Saint Augustine's *Confessions*

(397–8) and continuing in eighteenth-century novels, such as Henry Fielding's *Amelia* (1752). But no one to my knowledge has addressed the converting power of encounters with portraits. In Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian* (1797) and Charlotte Dacre's *The Libertine* (1807), picture identifications bring about patriarchal reform as well as victim rescue. In *The Italian*, an aristocratic matriarch has ordered the novel's archvillain and archpatriarch, an aristocrat disguised as a monk, to murder a young girl whom her son wishes to marry against his mother's wishes. There is no hero to rescue in this scene; there is no animated portrait to terrorize the villain, as in *Otranto*; there is no portrait of a dead brother to soften him, as in *Emmeline*; there is no portrait of a victim to topple him, as in *Old Stories*. But when he approaches her sleeping form, dagger in hand, "horror seemed to seize all his frame and he stood for some moments aghast and motionless like a statue. His respiration was short and laborious; chilly drops stood on his forehead and all his faculties of mind seemed suspended." It is a tiny miniature portrait around the girl's neck that has terrified this powerful psyche, paralyzed a massive body, and suspended a determined mind (fig. 9.2).

The portrait is a revolutionary force: "When he recovered, he stooped to examine again the miniature which had occasioned *this revolution*" (2.294–5, emphasis added). It is the sight of his *own* image that brings about this revolution in miniature. Traditionally, representations of authority (coins, seals, signatures, aristocratic portraits, etc.) wield power over those who lack authority. Here the representation of an authority figure wields power *over the authority figure himself*. In *Otranto*, the portraits of usurping and legitimate ancestors ally with legitimate progeny to overthrow the progeny of usurpers. Here a man's own portrait works to usurp one kind of patriarchy and replace it with another *within* a single patriarch, accomplishing a bloodless revolution by reforming patriarchal desire. The bloodless revolution manifests in tears of sentiment: "At length he yielded to the fullness of his heart and Schedoni, the stern Schedoni, wept and sighed!" (2.300). This and other similar picture identifications displace the violent, antisocial, and criminal desires that characterize tyrannical Gothic aristocrats with bourgeois family sentiment, conforming patriarchs to middle-class values by changing their desires. Inconceivably for post-Freudian readers, platonic sentiment is represented as sufficiently powerful not only to curb but also to *overpower* violent and lustful desires and, furthermore, to transform libidinal desires *into* platonic sentiment.

Schedoni's internal revolution is not simply psychological; it is also social and classed. Although he knows that the portrait represents himself, he does not know how it constructs his relationship to Ellena. He therefore embarks on a

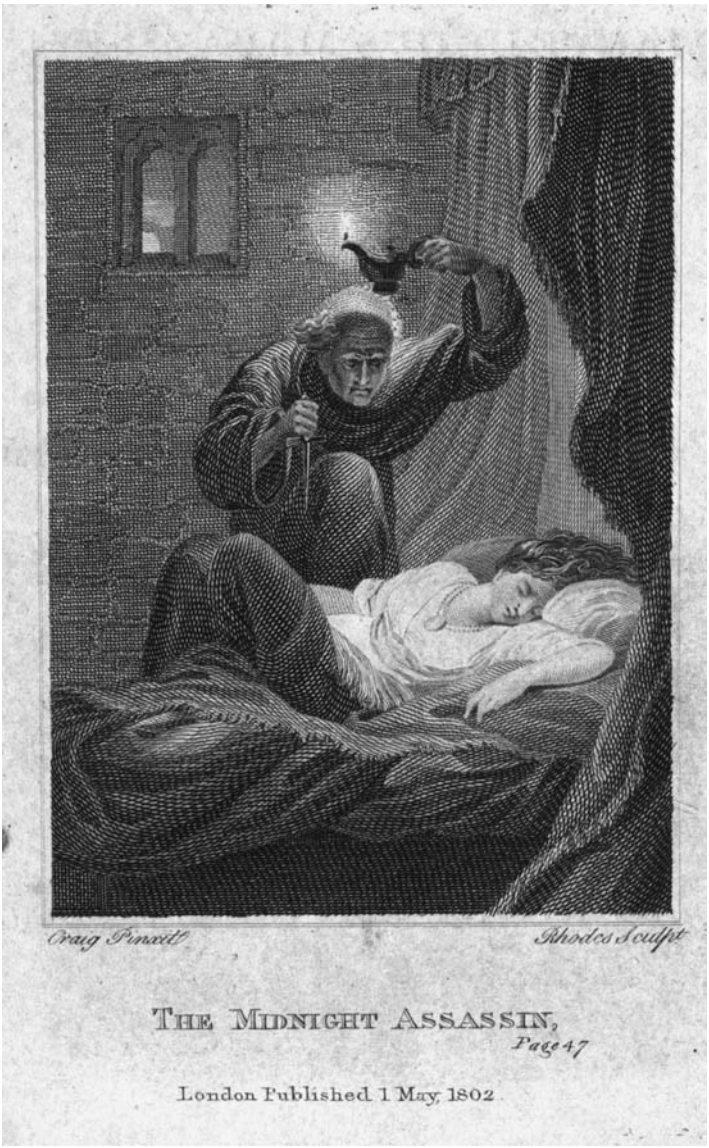

Figure 9.2. Frontispiece to the chapbook redaction of *The Italian, The Midnight Assassin; or, The Confessions of the Monk Rinaldi*. Engraved by Craig Pinxitt after Rhodes. 2nd ed. London: Printed for T. Hurst and sold by J. Wallis & T. Hughes, etc., 1802. 19463.37.7.10*, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

histrionic catechism in picture identification (which, despite the lengthy citation below, I have cut considerably):

> "Whose portrait? . . . Whose portrait?" repeated the Confessor in a loud voice.
>
> "Whose portrait!" said Ellena . . .
>
> "Answer my question," repeated Schedoni, with increasing sternness . . . "I once more demand an answer—whose picture?"
>
> Ellena lifted it, gazed upon it for a moment and then, pressing it to her lips, said, "This was my father." . . .
>
> "His name?" interrupted the Confessor . . .
>
> "His name?" repeated Schedoni, with sterner emphasis.
>
> "It is sacred," replied Ellena . . .
>
> "His name?" demanded the Confessor, furiously.
>
> "I have promised to conceal it, father."
>
> "On your life, I charge you tell it; remember, on your life!"
>
> Ellena trembled, was silent, and with supplicating looks implored him to desist from enquiry, but he urged the question more irresistibly. "His name then," said she, "was Marinella." [Schedoni is Marinella.] (2.296–9)

The portrait reforges his patriarchal identity, redirecting it from service to the aristocrat who wants Ellena dead to serving the interests of his own nuclear family. If Ellena is his daughter, then her marriage to an aristocratic heir will advance his interests far more than murdering her to please the man's aristocratic mother. For Ellena, the picture identification brings social and physical salvation and, eventually, the triumph of her own desires.

In *The Libertine*, a man's own portrait saves the heroine from his violence. While on the verge of unwittingly raping his daughter, the eponymous hero turns "from the high blush of licentious transport to the pale agony of terror" at the sight of a miniature portrait:

> The delicate Ida struggled violently to escape from his grasp, while Angelo, ravished at her beauty and *unmoved by her distress*, gazed eagerly upon her. Finding *every effort vain against his superior strength*, she made a last desperate effort to disengage herself and, in so doing, a portrait which had been concealed in her bosom *escaped from its confinement* and would have fallen to the ground, but that Angelo [caught] it from the broken chain . . . he held it to his eyes, while *Ida, overcome by shame, horror and exhaustion, was unable to offer resistance*.—He gazed—gazed wildly!—he gasped for breath. Could it be?—ah! it was not delusion—*the portrait of his father met his view! of his mother!* . . . Distracted, *overcome with terrible emotion, scarce knowing what he did*,

> he sought the well-known spring—he touched it—the portraits divided—*he beheld himself in childhood*! ah, far less changed indeed in feature than in mind! (4.62–4, emphasis added)

Whereas Ida is unable to "disengage herself" from his grasp, the portrait *is* able to "escape from *its* confinement." Although she is powerless, the portrait wreaks revenge: just as she had been "overcome by shame, horror and exhaustion," it renders *him* "overcome, with terrible emotion." The portrait presents a lineal gallery in miniature, both identifying Ida as his daughter and reminding him of his own childhood and parentage. The concept of lineage here is not of entitlement, but of sentiment; the concept of origins is not of ancestry, but of Romantic childhood innocence. These disempower rather than enable tyrannical desire. If there is a "return of the repressed" here, it is the return of repressed family sentiment and childhood innocence. The portrait unleashes floods of sentiment, which sweep away lust and violence: "With transport, then, how much more pure and delightful, did he press to his heart as a daughter her whom he had viewed with other eyes and sought for the ignoble purpose of unhallowed passion" (4.66).

Changed desires lead to changed physical relations. The violent wrangling of attempted rape melts into a consensual, sentimental embrace: "[L]aying her head upon his bosom, [she] mingled her tears with his. [He] pressed her with a sacred fervor to his heart" (4.69–70). His desire to exchange body fluids in rape and press her with lecherous fervor to his groin transforms to a consensual mingling of sentimental fluids (tears) and a pressing of her head to his heart. Lust, violence, and terror, however, have by no means evaporated; rather, they have been harnessed and legitimated by family sentiment. The consensual, platonic embrace remains fueled by the incestuous rape it has overpowered and displaced. Her head on his heart means that her mind has been conformed to his desires—a far more insidious conformity than that of his penetration of her body.

Mary Poovey acknowledges Edmund Burke's claim that "the 'softer virtues' . . . helped control or humanize aggression and energy," but counters that "the true practitioner of sensibility was essentially passive, dependent, inferior" and "contributed to keep its practitioner weak" (*The Proper Lady* 314–5).[8] By contrast, *The Libertine*'s climactic picture identification represents platonic, middle-class, family sentiment as *more* powerful than the vengeful violence and rapacious lust associated with both upper and lower classes in Gothic fiction, overriding, harnessing, and co-opting them. Even *The Monk* implies that, had its antihero recognized the women he destroyed as his long-lost sister and mother, family sentiment would have saved them and him.

In *The Libertine*, picture identification transforms rapacious desire into paternal sentiment: "[N]ow the *father* of her he had lately beheld with feelings and sentiments so opposite to those of the parent was tremblingly alive to even the semblance of impropriety" (4.70, emphasis in original). The picture identification equally transforms the terror and loathing of the rape victim into sentimental devotion to the would-be rapist: "[S]he feared no longer; she reposed upon his bosom" and "found her feelings attracted in a different channel" (4.65). The class moral of the story is clear: those who adopt aristocratic modes of patriarchy can expect only loathing and resistance; those who adopt bourgeois and sentimental modes of patriarchy will receive trusting devotion, *even from those they have hitherto abused*. What begins as a tale of rape and continues as a tale of rescue ends in a new captivity. The novel is not concerned with the girl's identity, except as it relates to patriarchy. She moves from the clutches of one kind of patriarch, whom she has not desired, to the grasp of another kind, whom she does desire. Crucially, the two are *the same man*. Hers, then, is a journey from resistance to consent. But her consent does not lead to the fulfillment of her own erotic desires. Her exchange value depends on her chastity. Her father's chief desire and source of suffering for the remainder of the novel (after a few scant expressions of personal remorse) derive from suspenseful anguish during his daughter's drawn-out personal narrative over whether she has remained chaste. Indeed, it is not the libertine's own impropriety to which he becomes "tremblingly alive"; it is his daughter's:

> [N]ow the *father* of her he had lately beheld with feelings and sentiments so opposite to those of the parent was tremblingly alive to even the semblance of impropriety in the conduct of his *daughter* and punctilious to the slightest trifle that might concern her fame. So often with the libertine, whose moral feelings are seldom outraged by seeking to destroy the wife, sister, or daughter of *another*, yet who are ever on the watch to guard their own and up in arms if the shadow of an insult be cast upon them. (4.70–1, emphasis in original)

When he discovers that she has not remained chaste, he disposes of her in a convent. Clearly, this is no feminist tale of gender equality; rather, it is tale of contesting modes of patriarchy. Neither mode gratifies the daughter's desires; although the hyperlibidinal libertine becomes a hypermoral father, both are "rapists" in that both override her desires with their own.

The picture identification reidentifies the daughter as well as the father. They exchange moralities: the rape victim is reidentified as fallen woman, and the rap-

ist as moralistic father. The daughter renovates his fallen morality by identifying him with his childhood portrait:

> "Ah! my father, your name is then Angelo D'Albini," cried Agnes, gazing on him with her eyes swimming in tears because of the perfect resemblance she traced between him and his youthful portrait—then taking it up, she examined first one, then the other, exclaiming, "How little your features appear changed, my father; the expression of the countenance is almost the same!" (4.67–8)

The resemblance traced between child and father forges an inherence between innocent child and criminal rapist, accomplishing a reidentification of immoral patriarch through Romantic childhood innocence. That he still resembles his childhood portrait indicates that the innocent child is *still* father of the guilty man. The picture identification equally allows his daughter to reconstruct her relation to him through maternal sentiment. The daughter is mother to the father, rebirthing him.

PORTRAIT ICONOPHILIA AND DEATH

> Often in the dead of night, when sunk in melancholy, I would steal to the long desolated apartment of my mistress and, while I played on her favorite harp, gaze on the portraits of my Lord and her until I imagined myself with them in the regions of everlasting felicity.
>
> —Isabella Kelly, *The Ruins of Avondale Priory* (1796, 3.164)

> The frightful portraits of creatures long since dead seem to follow us with their eyes.
>
> —Anne Ker, *The Heiress of di Montalde* (1799, 1.222)

A great deal has been written about intersections between erotic and violent desires and between Freud's life drive and death drive. My concern in this section lies with how Gothic literature differentiates and classes responses to the portraits of dead relatives. Inherited identity is not simply a matter of birth but also a matter of death; inherited identity both depends on death and never dies: "The king is dead. Long live the king!" Portraiture and progeny, as we have seen, constitute parallel imaged afterlives of forebears. While progeny are afterlives in lineal and temporal sequence (alive, then, dead, displaced by their progeny), portraits, with their connotations of absent presence, bear an ambivalent temporal

relationship to life and death, representing the dead alive, rendering the living inanimate, mediating spirits apart from bodies, and picture-identifying ghosts.

Gothic fiction, together with historical and critical texts, represents the desire to inherit as opposed to bourgeois family values and moral character. Because inheritance requires a patriarch's death, any desire to inherit a patriarchal identity is ineluctably tied to patricidal desire. Under primogeniture, patricidal desire often extends to fratricidal desire, as brothers compete for vertical inheritances along horizontal lines; it frequently extends to subsequent generations, as uncles murder nieces and nephews. Lineal portrait galleries, however, affirm even violent changes in power, since the portraits of usurpers are placed beside those they have usurped, as Granger's print gallery and *The Castle of Otranto* affirm. From the moment that the portrait of the murdering usurper "quit[s] its panel and descend[s] on the floor" in *The Castle of Otranto* (20), however, Gothic fiction uses picture identification to *restore* lineages after violent usurpation. As I argue in chapter 2, it does so less to affirm aristocratic ideology than to promote identities coded bourgeois as rightful occupants of aristocratic positions and those presently holding aristocratic positions as criminal.

But Gothic fiction does not simply assault aristocrats for desiring the death of forebears or for celebrating the dead as dead in lineal portrait galleries to authorize their present power and positions. It also develops a bourgeois culture of portrait iconophilia that bathes the portraits of dead relatives in sentiment and nostalgia in order to inflate bourgeois family relations and values. Iconophilia for portraits of the dead intensifies and sentimentalizes portraiture's long-standing memorial and funerary functions. A periodical writer attests in 1795:

> The originals, alas! like autumnal leaves quickly perish. A portrait is the best means devised by the ingenuity of art to substantiate the fleeting form—to perpetuate the momentary existence. It is thine, O Painting! to preserve the form which lies moldering in the tomb . . . As the absence of the sun is supplied by artificial lights, so well-finished portraits compensate the loss sustained by the removal of the excellent originals. (Evans 433–4)

Portraits have the same ambivalent relationship to life and death that they have to presence and absence. These relations have been canvassed for millennia, from Plato's "Allegory of the Cave" to Deleuze's "Plato and the Simulacrum" and beyond.[9] Portraiture not only makes the absent present but also makes their *absence* present. Portraits defy death by projecting live images of the dead; they serve as perceptual, tangible, collective memories retaining the dead in the social realm; they are material compensations for the loss of bodies. They are simul-

taneously revivers of memory and intimations of resurrection: "[A] portrait of the deceased . . . with the utmost truth of delineation and freshness of coloring delightfully brings back him who is departed to the recollection of all who knew him" (Field 1828, 2.217). Yet, even as portraiture represents the dead in life, it affirms their death and identifies them as dead.

Overtly, Gothic heroes and heroines stand opposed to murderous and destructive drives, desiring and cherishing the portraits of relations destroyed by villains, fate, sorrow, and time. Fueled by ideologies of immanence, characters embrace, speak to, and carry portraits of the dead as "companions." Because portraits serve both as substitutes for the bodies of the dead and as mediators of ancestral spirits, Gothic characters transfer yearning and desire for the dead to their portraits, praying to them and speaking to them, as we have seen. However, love of the dead is tied inextricably to their identification *as* dead and love of the lost is tied ineluctably to love *of* their loss. Therefore, mourning portrait iconophilia desires death and absence even as it decries them, fusing desire for absent bodies with desire for their absence represented by portraits and desire for the dead with desire for their death. Margaret Holford's *Calif* illustrates:

> "My father," interrupted Calif, "has thou yet preserved the resemblance of my unhappy mother?"
>
> "Ah, my son!" said the good Almorad, "I have still worn it next that bosom, which shall ever retain a sincere regret for the loss of the original, the charming, the faithful Azilé." (109)

The resemblance that serves as memorial of the original also serves as memorial for "the *loss* of the original." Both death and the portrait dislocate "the original," substituting themselves as sources of desire. Because immanence and resemblance tie desire for the original to desire for the portrait, now that the portrait has come to signify the death of the original, its iconophilia encompasses desire for the death and loss of the original. Through sentimental and nostalgic iconophilia, "the good Almorad" loves and cherishes death, loss, and regret, as do countless other Gothic characters. In Rosalia St. Clair's *The Highland Castle and the Lowland Cottage* (1820), a widow discovers a portrait of her dead husband: "[T]he trinket flew open and disclosed the portrait of a handsome officer in the prime of mankind. 'It is—it is my Charles,' she exclaimed; 'come to my arms, thou living image of my murdered husband' " (4.183). When the widow embraces her daughter, who wears the portrait, as the living image of her murdered husband, she embraces him *as* murdered, as dead image. If portraits keep the death

of the dead alive, iconophilia keeps desire for the death of the dead alive. Together, immanence and iconophilia implicate desire for death in desire for the dead, precluding the separation of death *from* desire.

Positioned between life and death and between presence and absence, portraits of the dead represent their subjects as constantly lost and their loss as constantly retained. This is not so much a case of Freudian melancholia refusing to let go of grief, producing pathology; it is more a case of sentimental nostalgia extenuating grief through displacement and inherence, from character to reader, from diegetic to extradiegetic domains. Awash though they may be in sentimental mourning, such displacements do not much differ from the violent displacements of aristocratic patricide, matricide, and other familial -cides. Such affinities with aristocratic homicides, though, are less subversive than empowering of middle-class family values, as sentimental denials of aggression and animosity all the more insidiously promote destructive desires. As portraiture and iconophilia extenuate loss and desire for loss, they augment the value of what is lost—in this case, middle-class family values. Death increases value; therefore, death is valued. Such sentimental iconophilia ties the desire for death to a pleasure principle, as characters take profound pleasure in mourning for the death of the dead.

In some cases, iconophiliac picture identification *of* the dead extends to an identification *with* the dead and desire for one's own death: "[W]hile I did gaze upon [the miniatures of my parents], I very well learned to bear all, that I might merit to go where the dear originals were gone" (Cuthbertson, *Santo Sebastiano* 1.180). Desire for the portraits of her past, passed parents conforms a heroine to their ideologies and values, as she seeks to resemble their lives. Yet she equally seeks to resemble *their deaths*. Death in this passage problematizes the already troubled relations between dualistic concepts of body and soul and triadic theories of portraiture (soul → body portrait). Death has ruptured bodies from souls and both from the heroine. Portraits reunite bodies and souls representationally at the same time that they displace them. Troubling her implicitly transcendent desire "to go where the dear originals were gone" lies the heroine's own problematic body, which, like her mother's portrait, has displaced her mother's body. We saw in chapter 4 that, before his death, her father took her to worship her mother's portrait:

> [H]e has caught me to his breast and flown with me to the (to him so sacred) spot, where the urn to Lady Adelaide he had consecrated and reared a willow to weep for her [lay,] and there . . . clasping me with the convulsive grasp of anguish to his

> throbbing heart and taking from his bosom the miniature of Lady Adelaide, [he] press[ed] it with agonized tenderness to his lips—again, and still, still, again; then he would hold it for me kiss to give it. (1.180)

The father presses together the two miniature resemblances (child and portrait) that have displaced the mother's body. The mother's body has been further displaced from chains of mimetic representation by cremation, consigned as nonmimetic ashes to a nonmimetic urn that no one embraces. Moreover, a willow substitutes for and displaces the father's weeping body; he has "reared" both willow and child to weep for the mother; both displace his weeping body after his death. Problematically, sentimental, nostalgic, iconophiliac mourning opens up places of metonymic displacement and substitution *within* metaphors of immanence and likeness. Thus, portrait iconophilia joins a well-established discourse on metaphor and metonymy, from classical rhetoric (Aristotle) to theories of literary genre (Jakobson), from semiotics to psychoanalysis (Lacan), and from cognitive linguistics (Lakoff and Johnson) to deconstruction (De Man). It is this dual power of metonymy and metaphor that makes picture identification such a powerful tool for middle-class aspirations to both resemble *and* displace aristocratic identities. But it equally implicates them in the desire for death.

Metonymic power is further accentuated when portraiture has power to inculcate desire apart from any personal knowledge of what it displaces:

> But what were the various sensations which pressed upon her heart on learning that she had wept over the resemblance of her mother! Deprived of a mother's tenderness before she was sensible of its value, it was now only that she mourned the event which lamentation could not recall. (Radcliffe, *A Sicilian Romance*, 1790, 1.63)

With no memory of her mother, her emotions can only be ideological and conventional. As the signifier inculcates general cultural values apart from a specific signified, mourning for the "original" (inaccessible to both memory and signification) is displaced by mourning for the portrait. When the portrait displaces both memory and the "original," the effect is more radical than Roland Barthes's formulation of metalanguage, in which a sign from one system becomes an empty signifier in a new, mythological one, ready to be filled with new meaning ("Myth Today" 109–43). In *A Sicilian Romance*, the symbol usurps what it signifies and memory of the signified, displacing both with cultural conventions. Picture identification renders the general and public individual and privatized. Such desires are tied inextricably to the desire for the words of discourses.

PORTRAIT ICONOPHILIA AND THE DESIRE FOR THE WORD

> The portrait of her father excited a variety of mixed sensations, accompanied by curiosity and interest to learn his adventures and misfortunes.
>
> —Mary Charlton,
> *Rosella; or, Modern Occurrences* (1799, 4.243)

This section both circles back to previous chapters addressing portraiture's intersemiotics and paves the way to my final chapter on iconophobia. In addition to a politics of desire governing social behaviors and relations, Gothic fiction highlights the overpowering, often revolutionary, desire that portraits awaken for the word. In his introduction to *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain* (vol. 1, 1814), Lodge posits that intersemiotic desire runs both ways: "As in contemplating the portrait of an eminent person we *long* to be instructed in his history, so in reading of his actions we are *anxious* to behold his countenance" (1.vi, emphasis added). Longing is here tinged with anxiety, blending iconophilia with iconophobia.

Similar intersemiotic desires arise in readers of Gothic fiction. Praising "the fine scene" in *The Italian* "where the monk, in the act of raising his arm to murder his sleeping victim, discovers her to be his own child" as "the strongest painting which has been under Mrs. Radcliffe's pencil," Walter Scott desires that it "be actually embodied on canvas by some great master" ("Memoir of Mrs. Ann Radcliffe," 1824, 352).

Within Gothic fiction, characters exhibit strong desires to tell, hear, write, and read the names and narratives of portraits. A housekeeper in Regina Maria Roche's *The Children of the Abbey* (1796) is one of many to lead "the way to a long gallery, ornamented with portraits of the family" and to tell "the names of the different portraits" and "many interesting anecdotes" of their sitters (3.223). The desire to learn the names and narratives of persons represented in portraits is a desire for picture identification, a desire that drives readers as well as characters of Gothic fiction.

In Gothic fiction, the desire that portraits arouse for the word and picture identification is politicized and often represented as revolutionary. An otherwise dutiful maid in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* declares picture identification to be the only point of desire in her social context—one powerful enough to make her wish to abandon it: "I would have run to the furthest mountain we can see yonder to have got a sight of such a picture and, to speak my mind, [the portrait's] strange

story is all that makes me care about this old castle" (2.308). Picture identification arouses similar antisocial desire in fictional readers of *Udolpho*, most notably Jane Austen's Catherine Morland:

> I have been reading [*Udolpho*] ever since I woke and I am got to the black veil [believed to cover a portrait] . . . what can it be? But do not tell me—I would not be told upon any account. . . . Oh! I am delighted with the book! I should like to spend my whole life in reading it. I assure you, if it had not been to meet you, I would not have come away from it for all the world. (*Northanger Abbey* 24)

Diegetic and extradiegetic communities layer in this novel; Catherine's desire for the book is inseparable from her commingled terror and desire to see (and not to see) the portrait behind the black veil and to have the mysterious portrait identified. Like *Udolpho*'s maid, her desire tempts her to abandon her social obligations.

The portrait behind the black veil in *Udolpho* is a wax figure of a decaying corpse, a penance imposed by the church "to reprove the pride of the Marquis of Udolpho." The portrait testifies to moral checks upon a corrupt aristocracy. He "had made it a condition in his will that his descendants should preserve the image, on pain of forfeiting to the church a certain part of his domain, that they also might profit by the humiliating moral it conveyed" (4.401). The wax portrait of the decaying corpse sets a competing iconography against the ancestral portrait gallery that proclaims eternal life and inheritance. It counters aristocratic picture identification with an unidentifiable image. Thus the central curiosity, desire, and suspense surrounding picture identification in *Udolpho* leads readers to a portrait humiliating aristocratic identities and challenging aristocratic iconographies; yet it is a portrait upon which the future of aristocracy paradoxically depends. The desire for picture identification, then, turns out to be ineluctably bound up with desire for the decay and decomposition of aristocratic iconographies.

The final two sections of this chapter have touched on interpenetrations of fear and desire. Indeed, it is customary to pair iconophobia with iconophilia, following Freud's claim in *The Interpretation of Dreams* that phobias mask repressed desires (see, e.g., Vacche). My final chapter turns to consider iconophobia, albeit not in psychoanalytic terms.

CHAPTER TEN

Fearing Picture Identification

ICONOPHOBIA Hatred of images.

—*Oxford English Dictionary*

In recent definitions of iconophobia, including the *OED*'s, *phobia* has, somewhat perplexingly, come to signify solely *hatred*, displacing the *fear* that figures equally, if not more prominently, in its etymology. Both appear in the *OED*'s definition of *phobia*—"A fear, horror, strong dislike, or aversion; *esp*. an extreme or irrational fear or dread aroused by a particular object or circumstance." Four words are synonyms for fear and only one for hatred; one (aversion) connotes both. Given Gothic fiction's preoccupations with horror and terror, restoring fear to current concepts of iconophobia is essential.

This book has already addressed various forms of iconophobia, from progeny's fears of haunted ancestral portraits to Protestant phobias of Catholic icons to patriarchal phobias of maternal portraits to phobic encounters with one's own portrait. Discussing Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*, Walter Scott asserts the near universality of ancestral portrait iconophobia: "There are few who have not felt at some period of their childhood a sort of terror from the manner in which the eye of an ancient portrait appears to fix that of the spectator from every point of view" ("Prefatory Memoir to Walpole," 1811, xxix). This terror, integral to the power of aristocratic identities, is challenged by Maria[1] and Richard Lovell Edgeworth's *Practical Education* (1798):

> A boy between four and five years old, H——, used to cry bitterly when he was left alone in a room in which there were some old family pictures. It was found that he was much afraid of these pictures: a maid who took care of him had terrified him with the notion that they would come to him or that they were looking at him and would be angry with him if he was not *good*.
>
> To cure him of his fear of pictures, a small sized portrait, which was not amongst the number of those which had frightened him, was produced in broad daylight. A piece of cake was put upon this picture, which the boy was desired to take; he took it, touched the picture, and was shown the canvas at the back of it, which, as it happened to be torn, he could easily identify with the painting; the picture was then given to him for a plaything; he made use of it as a table and became very fond of it as soon as he was convinced that it was not alive and that it could do him no sort of injury. (1.197–8, emphasis in original)

The treatise attacks uses of iconophobia to coerce social conformity by reducing their size, presenting them as material objects rather than supernatural icons, subjecting them to rational daylight (a daylight that may well harm old paintings), exposing what is behind them (nothing), and placing them in the service of the child's activities (a plate for cake, a toy, a table for activities). Through such reconstructions, the child becomes master; portraits no longer punish but reward him; they no longer inspire phobia but satisfy desire. This lesson epitomizes bourgeois reworkings of aristocratic ancestral iconographies addressed throughout this book.

My final chapter, however, is less concerned with interclass iconophobias than with middle-class phobias of their *own* emerging iconographies, iconologies, iconotropies, iconisms, and iconophilias of picture identification. Embedded in them lie concepts of imaged identity that threaten middle-class, Romantic, sentimental, self-made, subjective, moral identities, as well as middle-class family values and social relations. Insisting on the downward mobility of portrait and political representation produces iconophobic fallout, raising specters of further downward mobility below the rising middle classes to groups whose interests are deemed at odds with theirs. Asserting the authority of representation over what is represented raises phobias about the potential absence of content in middle-class iconographies. Rifts in traditional body-soul bonds challenge middle-class beliefs in identity as a physiognomic selfsameness of body and soul, challenging individualism and mimetic definitions of moral and intellectual worth by extension. Gothic fiction further produces iconophobias of mimesis: phobias of loss of resemblance, lack of resemblance, and excess resemblance. Thus, even as Gothic

fiction promotes a creed that it is image rather than origin that constitutes social identity, it manifests a horror of its own creed.

BODY-SOUL (AND FORM-CONTENT) ICONOPHOBIAS

> [S]trangely are our souls constructed.
>
> —Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein* (1818, 28)

> I busied myself to think of a story. . . . One which would speak to the mysterious fears of our nature and awaken thrilling horror—one to make the reader dread to look round.
>
> —Mary Shelley, preface to the 1831 edition of *Frankenstein* (viii–ix)

We have seen that nonaristocratic iconographies challenge aristocratic iconographies through reconfiguring relations among soul, body, and image in theology, physiognomy, and portraiture theory. Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) probes forms of iconophobia that "speak to the mysterious fears of our nature," particularly the nature of the body-soul relationship, raising the phobic possibility not simply that the body constructs the soul but also that *iconophobia* of the body constructs the soul of both subjective and social identity.

Although Frankenstein insists that "neither the structure of languages, nor the code of governments, nor the politics of various states possessed attractions for me," his concerns with "the outward substance of things" and "the inner spirit of nature and the mysterious soul of man" (24) are bound up with semiotic and political representation. When Frankenstein creates rather than procreates a man, he challenges the sequence of imaged identity in Judeo-Christian theology (the body made in the image of the soul made in the image of God) and parallels forged between portraiture (the portrait made in the image of the body made in the image of the soul) and aristocratic lineage (the grandson made in the image of the father made in the image of the grandfather, etc.). He also evokes Paine's claim in *Rights of Man* that all men should be valued as newly created in the image of God rather than identified by their procreation in the images of other men. Unlike the demonic inversions of Christian chains of imaged identity in *The Monk* and *Melmoth the Wanderer* (see chapter 5), Frankenstein's creation of the monster resembles God's creation of Adam *more* closely than human procreation, as does Paine's theory of the *imago dei* (see chapter 3). The horror of

Frankenstein's creature lies not so much in its subversion of aristocratic iconographies as in the phobias it raises regarding bourgeois iconographies.

Parallel chains of portrait and procreative imaging in aristocratic ideology establish a temporal sequence in which what is imaged comes prior to and serves as origin (albeit a relative one) for what images it. The son is made in the image of the father, who preexists him; the portrait is made in the image of the body, which preexists it; the body is made in the image of the soul, which preexists it. However, in both God's creation of Adam and Frankenstein's creation of the monster, the body preexists the soul, troubling traditional chains of imaged identity. In Genesis, "God created man in his own image; in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them . . . the LORD God formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life and man became a living soul" (1:27, 2:7). The body, figured as form, is animated by "the breath of life," figured as content "breathed into" form to produce "a living soul." The soul thus takes the shape and form of the body. Although God's breath preexists the body, it is the *body* that constitutes God's breath *as* "a living soul." God's breath gives the *body* life, but the body gives the *soul* life. The relation between body and soul here is a reciprocal one, contrasting procreative lines.

This relation between body and soul is further problematic in that a majority of theologians aver that the image of God in man is a *dis*embodied one, located in man's soul, mind, reason, virtue, consciousness, or interiority (Gunton; K. A. Richardson; Middleton), an idea also fostered by Platonism. The question arises and remains: if only man's soul is made in the image of God, in whose image is man's body created? If man's body is made in the image of man's soul, then how is it not also made in the image of God? Theologies that deny this imply that man's body is made in the image of something other.

Frankenstein didactically links the creation of the monster to God's creation of Adam: the monster tells Frankenstein, "I am thy creature . . . thy Adam" (84), and Frankenstein fantasizes, "A new species would bless me as its creator and source" (40). Like God, Frankenstein forms the body first and then gives it a soul, "infusing life into inanimate matter" (43). As in Genesis, "life" and "soul" are equated; Frankenstein refers interchangeably to the "being whom I myself had formed and endued with life" (62) and "the monstrous image which I had endued with the mockery of a soul still more monstrous" (163). Iconophobia here and throughout the novel extends from a fear of pictorial images to a fear of the body as image to a fear of perception as the creation of images. Importantly, the last passage makes the body, not the soul, the image. However, Frankenstein's creature is not, like Adam, the first man; he is made in the image of procreated

men, albeit without procreation; he is a collage of body parts assembled to resemble procreated bodies. Shelley's preface to the 1831 edition figures his creation as a work of art rather than of nature: "His success would terrify the *artist*; he would rush away from his odious *handiwork*, horror-stricken" (x, emphasis added). The "monstrous image," then, is not only a monstrous image of men but also a monstrous image of God's creation. First among the *OED*'s numerous definitions of *monstrous* is "deviating from the natural or conventional order." As such, the monstrous image arouses iconophobia: "Frightful must it be," writes Shelley in her 1831 preface, "for supremely frightful would be the effect of any human endeavor to mock the stupendous mechanism of the Creator of the world" (x).

"Used as an intensifier: exceedingly, excessively, very" is also among the *OED*'s definitions of *monstrous*. More frightening than the mockery of God's "mechanism" are the iconophobic aspects of *God's* creation that Frankenstein's monstrous image accentuates. Frankenstein's research probes relations between "the outward substance of things [and] the inner spirit of nature" (24) in created and procreated realms, including the possibility that the soul is made in the image of the body. The body comes first in *Frankenstein*, as it does in Genesis, granting it temporal priority in the chain of imaged identity. So how can the body be made in the image of the soul, as physiognomy claims, if it begins as an inanimate object preexisting and therefore lacking a soul? Even the novel's unjustified similaic assertion of their equivalence—"His soul is as hellish as his form" (188)—renders the soul secondary vehicle to the body's primary tenor.

Before he constructs the creature, Frankenstein insists that it is "the mysterious soul of man that occupied me" (24). The novel invokes *soul* polysemiotically to cover all aspects of human identity deemed by early nineteenth-century thought to differentiate humans from other animals and press them toward the moral, ideological, subjective, and spiritual. The soul is the locus of virtue and vice ("The saintly soul of Elizabeth shone like a shrine-dedicated lamp in our peaceful home" [25]; "My revenge is . . . a vice . . . the devouring and only passion of my soul" [180]); it is the seat of thought ("my soul was elevated from its debasing and miserable fears to contemplate the divine ideas of liberty and self-sacrifice" [141]); it is the source of emotion ("the whirlwind passions of my soul drove me" [78]; "His soul overflowed with ardent affections" [137]); the soul is a source of desire ("the ardent desire of my soul" [184]). The soul is also the source of language: it produces speech ("he expressed the sensations that filled his soul" [56]) and is itself a speaker ("So much has been done, exclaimed the soul of Frankenstein" [34]; "Thus spoke my prophetic soul" [74]). And yet this multifarious soul has been made *in the image of the body*. The soul is subject to

physical sensations (looking at a mountain "filled me with a sublime ecstasy that gave wings to the soul and allowed it to soar from the obscure world to light and joy" [81]). Even the soul's most transcendent and sublime moments are produced by the operations of the body; it is the body's eyes that send the soul "from the obscure world to light and joy" (81).

Frankenstein's creature presents phobic challenges to physiognomy. Contrary to Frankenstein's belief that he has endowed the "monstrous image" with "a soul still more monstrous," the creature insists that originally "my soul glowed with love and humanity" (84). He sets his original soul at *odds* with his monstrous body: "I have good dispositions; my life has been hitherto harmless and in some degree beneficial; but a fatal prejudice clouds their eyes and, where they ought to see a feeling and kind friend, they behold only a detestable monster" (116). Far from being originally monstrous, the creature's soul has been made in the image of his body by social identification—by an iconophobic attribution of imaged identity to him that originates with his originator. Frankenstein manifests horror of his creature's imaged identity. From his first glimpse, he is "unable to endure the aspect of the being I had created [and] rushed out of the room" (43). He persists in iconophobia to the end: "Relieve me from the *sight* of your detested *form*" (85, emphasis added).

The phobic image defies picture identification, receiving no proper name, only phobic common nouns that misidentify the creature. Frankenstein nominates him "demon" and "fiend" at a time when the creature insists, "I was benevolent; my soul glowed with love and humanity" (84).

The rift between body and soul poses a serious challenge to middle-class iconologies based in moral physiognomy. It opens a Pandora's box of iconophobias: fears that subjective and social identities are diametrically at odds; fears that image belies identity; fears that subjectivity belies identity; fears that both belie identity, leaving no means of establishing one's own or another's identity; fears that others create social identity rather than God or one's own soul or one's own subjectivity or actions; and fears that the image precludes rather than enables the expression of identity: "Once I falsely hoped to meet with beings who, pardoning my outward form, would love me for the excellent qualities which I was capable of unfolding" (200).

The creature's form is a source of universal iconophobia: "No mortal could support the horror of that countenance" (44); "its unearthly ugliness rendered it almost too horrible for human eyes" (83). All classes, ages, and genders share it. We have seen Lavater's claim that physiognomy is universally legible: "Let the countenances of the good and the wicked . . . be taken and shown to a child, a

peasant, a connoisseur, or to any indifferent person . . . it will be seen that child, peasant, and connoisseur will agree in pronouncing the same countenance most beautiful, the same most deformed" (*Physiognomy* 180). In *Frankenstein*, "the excellent Felix," a "superior being" (98), manifests "horror and consternation on beholding me" and "in a transport of fury . . . dashed me to the ground and struck me violently with a stick" (117). Even a child misreads the creature's subjectivity from his body: "[M]onster! Ugly wretch! You wish to eat me and tear me to pieces. You are an ogre" (124).

The creature understands that his body rather than his soul is the source of his phobic social identification: "I had sagacity enough to discover that the unnatural hideousness of my person was the chief object of horror with those who . . . beheld me" (114). He further attests to the damaging effects of iconophobia on his soul: "You had endowed me with perceptions and passions and then cast me abroad an object for the scorn and horror of mankind" (121). His perception detects the responses of others to him; his passions suffer from them. He desires to be perceived with iconophilia: "[M]y heart yearned to be known and loved by these amiable creatures; to see their sweet looks directed towards me with affection" (114). Under iconophobia, his psyche begins to change: "The mildness of my nature had fled and all within me was turned to gall and bitterness" (121).

Iconophobia of the "monstrous image" overrides every other mode of social identification, attesting to its monolithic identificatory power. Because "my voice, although harsh, had nothing terrible in it" (114), relating his personal narrative to a blind man wins him the man's sympathy. But the man's sighted children respond iconophobically, with horror-fueled violence: "[M]y conversation had interested the father in my behalf and I was a fool in having exposed my person to the horror of his children" (119). Neither do the creature's heroic, benevolent actions avail against iconophobia. When he rescues a young girl from drowning, he is shot (122–3). The violence produced by iconophobia reconstructs his soul:

> This was then the reward of my benevolence! I had saved a human being from destruction and, as a recompense, I now writhed under the miserable pain of a wound which shattered the flesh and bone. The feelings of kindness and gentleness which I had entertained but a few moments before gave place to hellish rage and gnashing of teeth. Inflamed by pain, I vowed eternal hatred and vengeance to all mankind. (123)

Iconophobia creates him in *its* image as the monster, demon, and fiend that Frankenstein has named him.

Iconophobia not only reconstructs his soul in the image of his body but fur-

ther reconstructs the souls, subjectivities, words, and actions of those who feel it. It turns the benevolent Felix and the innocent child hostile, violent, and aggressive; it destroys souls, minds, and destinies. Felix attests: "The life of my father is in the greatest danger, owing to the dreadful circumstance [the appearance of the creature] that I have related. My wife and my sister will never recover from their horror" (120). Added to iconophobia's incurable psychological wounds are social consequences: iconophobia causes Felix and his family to act against their own economic interests, abandoning their home and crops.

Iconophobia of the monster extends to a broader iconophobia. The larger horror of imaged identity is that it overrides and overpowers other indexes of identity, including subjective identity. When the creature finally sees himself reflected in a pool, he makes the same identification of himself as monstrous image that others have made of him. His perception of his imaged identity runs initially at odds with his subjective identity: "At first I started back, unable to believe that it was indeed I who was reflected in the mirror." But the power of the image to construct identity is greater than subjectivity; matching his embodied face to its image in the water leads to both the pronouncement of a name ("monster") and the conviction that this identity is "reality": "I became *fully convinced* that I was *in reality* the monster that *I am*" (97,emphasis added). The image here *becomes* identity, reality, ontology. Although he continues to hope for an end to social iconophobia, his own image makes him collude in it, annihilating hope: "I cherished hope [that others would compassionate me and overlook my personal deformity], it is true, but it vanished when I beheld my person reflected in water or my shadow in the moonshine, even as that frail image and that inconstant shade" (113).

Iconophobia of the monstrous image has further power to create others in its own monstrous image. Contemplating with iconophilia the portrait of "a most lovely woman" (125) characterized as virtuous, courageous, and tender, with "a mind of an uncommon mold" (19–20), the monster realizes that "she whose resemblance I contemplated would, in regarding me, have changed that air of divine benignity to one expressive of disgust and affright" (125). This iconophobia too is a monstrous image; another definition of *monstrous* in the *OED* is "Expressing astonishment, consternation, horror, etc." The image of her iconophobic face "transport[s]" him from iconophilia to rage. He subsequently discovers the woman's servant asleep and gazes with iconophilia on her "agreeable aspect," yearning for a reciprocal iconophiliac look from her: he "would give his life but to obtain one look of affection from [her] eyes." He knows, however, that should

she "see me," she would "curse me and denounce me." Her envisioned iconophobia "stirred the fiend in me" (125). Reacting to experienced and anticipated iconophobia, the creature uses the portrait to construct the servant's identity as monstrous. The child he killed for his iconophobia is the son, an imaged identity, of the woman imaged in the portrait. He uses her portrait to frame her servant, ironically named Justine, with his own monstrous identity of child murderer. He does so because he attributes both his crime and her framing to his envisioning of her iconophobia: "[T]he murder I have committed because I am forever robbed of all that she could give me; she shall atone. The crime had its source in her; be hers the punishment!" (125). Planting the valuable, bejeweled miniature on her body, he knows that its theft will be deemed her motive for the boy's murder. The portrait identification not only falsely identifies her as a murderer but also imbues her with a false subjective identity: "Ever since I was condemned, my confessor has besieged me; he threatened and menaced, until I almost began to think that I was the monster that he said I was" (71). In the end, she confesses to the crime, accepts the framed picture identification, and is executed under this identity. Rather than regard this as a tragic travesty of justice, however, the novel suggests that iconophobia has only revealed the monstrosity of all people, including Justine's. As his monstrous face has power to construct monstrosity in divine, benign, and agreeable women, so too, their imagined monstrous, iconophobic faces have power to create further monstrosity in him and them. Monstrosity, then, reverberates between monstrous images.

Another saintly woman extends Justine's monstrous portrait identification to the society that judged her:

> When I reflect, my dear cousin, said [Elizabeth], on the miserable death of Justine Moritz, I no longer see the world and its works as they before appeared to me. Before, I looked upon the accounts of vice and injustice that I read in books or heard from others as tales of ancient days; or at least they were remote and more familiar to reason than to the imagination; but now misery has come home and men appear to me as monsters thirsting for each other's blood. (77)

The creature similarly extends his guilt to "all humankind": "Am I to be thought the only criminal, when all humankind sinned against me?" (200). That his body is a compilation of many bodies further implicates the many in his monstrous image.

Although one meaning of the word *monster* is "deviating from the norm," *Frankenstein* indicates that monstrosity may *be* the norm. Indeed, the greatest

horror that the creature holds for others lies not in his difference from them but in his *resemblance* to them: "God, in pity, made man beautiful and alluring, after his own image; but my form is a filthy type of yours, *more horrid even from the very resemblance*" (112,emphasis added). It is not so much his otherness as his resemblance to others that is their greatest source of horror.

Most significantly of all, Frankenstein's creature injects horror, crime, and evil into the cardinal middle-class principle of resemblance, shattering ideologies that equate resemblance with selfsameness, morality, and truth. He further introduces difference into the very heart of identities based in selfsameness: "Was man, indeed, at once so powerful, so virtuous, and magnificent, yet so vicious and base? He appeared at one time a mere scion of the evil principle and at another as all that can be conceived of noble and godlike" (102). The creature's nonresembling resemblance to humanity reveals humanity's own nonresemblance en masse. There are no exceptions: not innocent children, not saintly women, not heroic young men. Through iconophobia, Frankenstein's creature shows resemblance to be a source of horror and destruction of social bonds rather than of familiarity and sustenance of social bonds.

There is a further, more nihilistic iconophobia in *Frankenstein*: the fear that the body images nothing other than itself and that the soul is only an image cast by the body. In *Frankenstein*, iconophobia recreates the soul in the image of the body and in the image *of iconophobia itself*. Iconophobia shatters faith in the soul as source and essence, faith in the power of the soul over the body, and faith in the power of the soul to shape the body. Extending from body-soul relations to concepts of representation, *Frankenstein*'s deeper phobia is not that form (body) is primary and content (soul) is secondary, but that content, made in the image of form, *may have no existence apart from form* or, more terrifyingly, *may have no existence at all*. In chapter 3, I argue that radical political writers assert the authority of representation over the authority of the represented to challenge royal and aristocratic ideology and power. Thomas Paine attacks the emptiness of royal signification: "If, therefore, royal authority is a great seal, it consequently is in itself nothing" (1791–2, 82). He equally asserts the nation's nonentity under present modes of political representation: "Mr. Pitt, on all national questions, so far as they refer to the House of Commons, absorbs the rights of the nation into the organ and makes the organ into a nation and the nation itself into a cipher" (82). While Paine does advance an inherent and reciprocal relationship between ideological content and form—"Forms grow out of principles and operate to continue the principles they grow from" (50)—in his political system,

representation forms both the circumference and center of his circle—both the form and the content. If royal authority is nothing and government is a cipher, Paine's formulation also raises the possibility that representation may represent nothing but itself.

The rising middle classes, while eager to challenge aristocratic ideological content by privileging representational form, are not willing to sacrifice their own ideological content to form once they become represented in portraiture and politics or to consider the possibility that their own ideology, rooted in form, lacks content. Frankenstein perceives his creature to lack both substance and soul. His allusion to "the existence of the monstrous image which I had endued with the mockery of a soul still more monstrous" (163) figures the body as image and the soul as mockery. Because the monster both comprises and resembles human bodies, the "monstrous image" brings with it the iconophobia that all creation and all representation—God's as well as man's—lack soul and substance. Although this is now a familiar, mainstream, even reassuring aspect of critical thought, it is a source of tremendous phobia in first-wave Gothic fiction. The terror of the animated portrait in *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) is not solely that an inanimate object moves, or that the boundaries between the inanimate and animate have been violated; it is also that an image, thrice removed from the soul in portraiture's traditional chain of imaged identity, presents as and conflates with soul. Hogle, drawing on Baudrillard's theories of images, reads the specters of portraits in *Otranto* as "ghosts of what is already artificial" (15), tying the counterfeiting of ghosts to the counterfeiting of illegitimacy, forged Gothic manuscripts, and faux castles. Hogle argues that "the ghost of the portrait re-counterfeits . . . the counterfeit," which, he argues, Baudrillard determines is the " 'dominant scheme' (or set of assumptions about) representation from the Renaissance through the dawn of the industrial revolution." While Hogle understands that the ghosts of Gothic portraits recounterfeit counterfeits "by increasing the distance between the substance and the image" (30–1), in chapter 4 I posit that, in the context of portraiture theory, the ghost as portrait and portrait as ghost fuse and confuse sign and substance. I limit my discussion there to the effects of such fusing confusion on social identity and patriarchal legitimacy. But, as Hogle has demonstrated, these issues extend beyond the realms of legitimate and usurping princes to the domains of "sign and substance," informing representation generally.

The reciprocal inversion of soul as image and image as soul raises the fear that the soul may be *only* an image produced by representation rather than the origin

of representation. As prior chapters have shown, Gothic fiction presents such relations as illegitimate, criminal, demonic, and blasphemous. These dynamics go beyond class politics, law, and theology, challenging the relations between form and content and between representation and what is represented. The core phobia is that image and substance conflate to such an extent that only image remains. Hogle reads the sole survival of the image as evidence of rupture. But conflation presents a more ominous model, for it denies substance the liberation of rupture and refuses substance equality through integration with form. Form consumes substance, leaving only itself.

ICONOPHOBIAS OF MIMESIS

The phobia that representation lacks substance and that bodies lack souls is accompanied by an inverse iconophobia in Gothic fiction: that an image may *be* its own original. In contrast to the phobia that the original does not exist but is only an image, this phobia posits the more terrifying possibility that the image does not exist but is always already an original. This phobia derives from an excess rather than an absence of original presence. While both phobias manifest fear of mediation, the latter fears mediatory lack rather than surplus. The fear of haunting is in part the phobia of a soul unmediated by body or portrait. *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) probes this phobia. A dying nun, "turning her heavy eyes, fixed them in wild horror upon Emily and, screaming, exclaimed, 'Ah! that vision comes upon me in my dying hours! . . . It is her very self!' " (Radcliffe 4.350). This iconophobia, this horror of "that vision," is not fear of an image but of an original, as the narrator explains:

> The resemblance between Emily and her unfortunate aunt had frequently been observed by Laurentini . . . but it was in the nun's dying hour, when her conscience gave her perpetually the idea of the Marchioness, that she became more sensible than ever of this likeness and, in her frenzy, deemed it *no resemblance* of the person she had injured, *but the original herself*. (4.398, emphasis added)

Earlier in *Udolpho*, another identification has been made of the same dead woman as "her very self" (see chapter 6), but this does not arouse iconophobia because it is mediated by a portrait. When the nun perceives the heroine to be an image rather than the original of the dead woman—her progeny (albeit erroneously)—she recovers her rationality and composure.

The explanation of the nun's confusion between originals and images is fol-

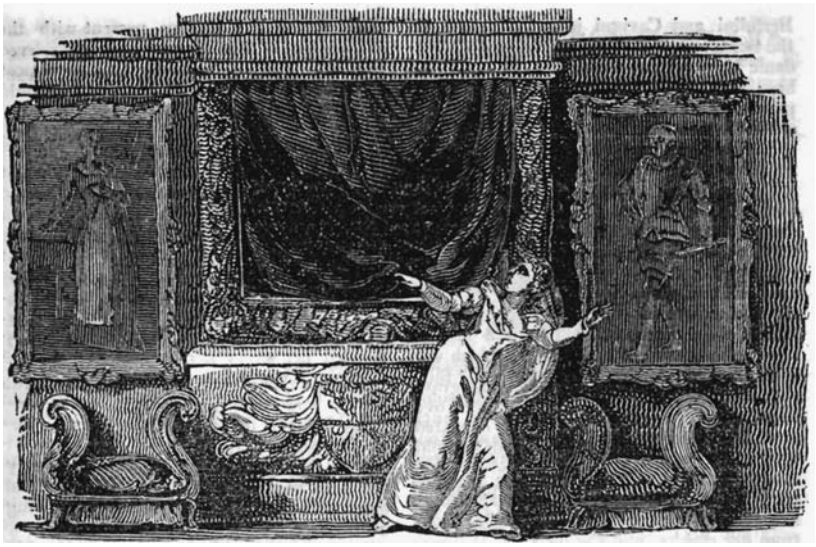

Figure 10.1. Illustration from Ann Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. Limbird's edition of *The British Novelist*, vol. 1. London: J. Limbird, 1826. University of Michigan Library, 828 R11m 1826.

lowed by an explanation of another more central confusion between originals and images, one that constitutes the chief iconophobia of the novel: what lies behind the black veil (fig. 10.1).

Distinctions between terror and horror in *Udolpho* hover on boundaries between originals and images. As long as Emily assumes that what lies behind the black veil is a portrait, an image, she remains in the desiring regions of sublime terror: "[T]he veil, throwing a mystery over the subject . . . excited a faint degree of terror. But a *terror* of this nature, as it occupies and expands the mind and elevates it to high expectation, is purely sublime and leads us, by a kind of fascination, to seek even the object from which we appear to shrink" (2.230, emphasis added). The polysemantic symbolism of the veil has been richly probed in prior criticism.[2] The point to stress in this discussion is that the veil holds the line between images and originals; drawing it back destroys that line. Behind the black veil, Emily expects to find a portrait, an image of a body, but instead she perceives an original, a body.

> She lifted the veil, but instantly let it fall—perceiving that what it had concealed was *no picture*, and before she could leave the chamber, she dropped senseless on the floor.

> When she recovered her recollection, the remembrance of what she had seen had nearly deprived her of it a second time. She had scarcely strength to remove from the room and regain her own and, when arrived there, wanted courage to remain alone. *Horror* occupied her mind. (2.230–1, emphasis added)

Holding the veil in place arouses sublime terror; drawing it back arouses annihilating horror. The horror is that an image turns out to be an original—that a representation turns out to be what is represented. The veil, like representation, filters, mediates, and holds at bay what is represented. Although two volumes and several hundred pages later, the narrator explains that the "human figure of ghastly paleness . . . the face partly decayed and disfigured by worms" was "formed of wax" (4.400), the iconophobia raised by mistaking an image for an original dominates the novel. Indeed, critics in the period widely protest the belated reassurance:

> [T]he incidents of the black veil and the waxen figure may be considered as instances where the explanation falls short of expectation and disappoints the reader. . . . The reader feels indignant at discovering that he has been cheated into sympathy with terrors which are finally explained as having proceeded from some very simple cause. (Scott, "Memoir of Mrs. Ann Radcliffe," 1824, 377)

The confusion of original and representation raises an iconophobia of excessive mimetic realism. As much as Gothic fiction exults in "exact resemblances" and "very resemblances," it expresses a horror of them being too real or natural: "This image was so *horribly natural* that it is not surprising Emily should have mistaken it for the object it resembled" (Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho* 4.401, emphasis added). An excess of the natural produces the horror; "horribly" is here synonymous with "excessively." While most recent criticism of mimesis has been devoted to challenging its aspirations to the natural and the real, this is something of a straw man in Gothic fiction, which is keenly vested in distinguishing mimetic representation from what it represents, resemblance from identity, and images from originals. Gothic fiction stands in terror of its own iconographic revolution, which sets images against origins and images over origins. The fear that the image has no authenticating or authoritative original comes full circle in the fear that the original has no mediating image. This is not simply the fear of the authoritative original returning, godlike, to punish rebellious images; it is more profoundly the fear of the image's excessive mimesis. Strikingly, there is no concomitant terror of originals being mistaken for images. While Scott and

others protest against Radcliffe's deflating explanation, the explanation carries a converse, companion phobia: that mimetic realism lacks any sustained power to inspire fear and that a second look will abolish its power.

Whereas in *Udolpho* both Emily's and Laurentini's iconophobia of images being originals turns out to be illusory, in Charles Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820) the phobia is realized. John Melmoth "utter[s] an exclamation of terror" when he sees the Wanderer because he has "discovered in his face the living original of the portrait" painted 150 years prior (20).[3] The phobia in both *Udolpho* and *Melmoth* does not derive solely from ruptured boundaries between the dead and the living; it arises from the further horror that resemblance may *be* identity. In both novels, likeness seeks to hold such iconophobia at bay. Like Laurentini, John Melmoth attempts to rationalize his iconophobia by reidentifying the "living original" as a parallel image to the portrait, a descendant: "What could be more absurd than to be alarmed or amazed at a resemblance between a living man and the portrait of a dead one! The likeness was doubtless strong enough to strike him even in that darkened room, but it was doubtless only a likeness" (20). Likeness delimits originals; "only a likeness" assuages the terror of their unmediated presence and power. It is precisely because mimetic representation reduces the power of origins and originals that it becomes so central to middle-classes iconographies in their war against aristocratic lineal power. Even as images extend the power *of* originals, they dilute their power *as* originals.

In *Melmoth*, there is no reassuring, omniscient narrator to palliate the dilution of originals with images. The portrait, animated by the moving eyes of the original, manifests the original's infusion of and return to the image and rekindles the descendant's iconophobia, leading him to commit an act of iconoclasm (see chapter 5). Yet iconoclasm only confirms the separate, excess existence of the original apart from images and the power of the original to destroy his living images and representatives. The heir discovers the terrifying existence of originals apart from and in excess of the images that seek to contain them (portraits) and displace them (progeny).

Chapter 6 indicates that bourgeois writers grant greater authority to iconology (the reading of images) than to iconography (the writing of images), so that what comes last in the chain of imaged identity (the perception of a portrait) holds more authority that what comes prior (the portrait, the original of the portrait). Yet despite the power it accords iconology, Gothic fiction is filled with narratives in which characters are terrified by iconological *mis*readings: stories in which they mistake portraits for bodies, bodies for portraits, portraits for ghosts, ghosts

for bodies, and ghosts for portraits. In many instances, such misreadings are corrected and fears assuaged. Maria Regina Roche's *The Children of the Abbey* (1816) is representative:

> [S]omething in white attracted her notice: she concluded it to be the portrait of Lady Malvina's mother, which she had been informed hung in this room. She went up to examine it, but her horror may be better conceived than described when she found herself not by a picture, but by the real form of a woman with a deathlike countenance! She screamed wildly at the terrifying specter, for such she believed it to be, and quick as lightning flew from the room. (3.236)

The heroine and reader wait only one page for the misreading to be corrected: "[L]ose your superstitious fears and in me behold not an airy inhabitant of the other world, but a sinful, sorrowing, and repentant woman!" (3.237). In Lewis's *The Monk* (1796), however, the monk's mistaking an image for an original is not immediately corrected, with disastrous consequences (see chapter 9). He has for years worshiped an icon of the Madonna when he encounters a woman claiming to have sat for the portrait:

> Her features became visible to the Monk's enquiring eye. What was his amazement at beholding the *exact resemblance* of his admired Madonna? The *same* exquisite proportion of features, the *same* profusion of golden hair, the *same* rosy lips, heavenly eyes, and majesty of countenance adorned Matilda! Uttering an exclamation of surprise, Ambrosio sank back upon his pillow and doubted whether the object before him was mortal or divine. (1.141–2, emphasis added)

The "object" is neither; she is a familiar who has assumed a body in the image of the portrait. The portrait is the original; the body is the image. However, she claims to be the portrait's original, its sitter: "In Matilda de Villanegas you see the original of your beloved Madonna" (1.142). This misrepresentation marks the failure of mimetic resemblance to signal which side of the resemblance comes first. While we have seen that such an aesthetic was widely embraced to undermine lineal hierarchies, here mimetic confusion opens the way to individual, social, mental, physical, moral, and religious destruction.

The mimetically deceptive familiar engages mimetic representation to tempt the monk to commit crimes against family values. When Matilda presents the monk with a moving image of a beautiful woman bathing in a magic mirror, the mirror's "borders" are "marked with various strange and unknown characters"; the production of the woman's image in it depends on Matilda pronouncing "the magic words" (2.67). These "strange and unknown characters" and "magic

words" work intersemiotically with the image to turn the monk from the narratives that have hitherto governed his life. As mimetic aesthetics and picture identification have been destructive of religious and aristocratic idealism and identities, here they lead to the destruction of bourgeois family and moral values. The narrative demonstrates the power of mimetic representation to break free from the middle-class ideologies co-opting it and destroy them too. Mimetic resemblance, far from being endemically and intrinsically tied to truth, morality, religion, and reality, is thus revealed to be supremely deceptive and destructive. Far from producing reciprocity and equality, mimetic representation leads to enmity and tyranny.

Toward the end of the novel, the devil discloses the truth to the monk: "I observed your blind idolatry of the Madonna's picture. I bade a subordinate but crafty spirit assume a similar form" (3.310). The devil's explanation infuses another kind of iconophobia into the heart of idolatry, all the more fearful because it is so passionately desired. The power of a "crafty, subordinate" demonic spirit to assume a natural, yet elevated, Christian form heightens iconophobias about soul-body, form-content relations, as subordinate spirit possesses elevated form; evil spirit incarnates divine form; crafty spirit inhabits natural form. To some degree, such constructions support middle-class ideologies of self-fashioning and social adaptability. However, the familiar spirit's ability to take on forms to which it has no inherent relationship or resemblance (indeed, to which it is diametrically opposed) resembles middle-class attempts to usurp higher-class identities and constructs bourgeois mimetically produced identities as lacking inherence. This is all the more devastating a critique since, in addition to adopting the body of a Renaissance Madonna, the familiar spirit in *The Monk* adopts the mind, manners, and dialogue of a romantic bourgeois heroine. It forges an "exact resemblance" not only of golden hair, rosy lips, and heavenly eyes but also of an eighteenth-century heroine's emotions and sentiments. Aware that the monk is listening, the image of the portrait addresses the portrait it images:

> "Happy, happy image!" Thus did she address the beautiful Madonna: "'Tis to you that he offers his prayers! 'Tis on you that he gazes with admiration! I thought you would have lightened my sorrows; you have only served to increase their weight: you have made me feel that had I known him ere his vows were pronounced, Ambrosio and happiness might have been mine. With what pleasure he views this picture! With what fervor he addresses his prayers to the insensible image! Ah! may not his sentiments be inspired by some kind and secret genius, friend to my affection?" (1.140)

Feigning jealousy of the very image that the familiar images and exceeds through incarnation, the speech counterfeits the yearning, suffering, and hope of a sentimental heroine's soul. Joined to crafty acts of apparent restraint, self-sacrifice, and modesty, the familiar takes the form of a Gothic heroine's interiority as well as her exteriority, deceiving the reader as well as the monk with manufactured inherence. Mockingly and deviously, the familiar spirit invokes itself in the prayer for a "secret genius." The secret genius is already present, in excess of and bearing no inherent relation to the manufactured body and soul of "Matilda." This raises an iconophobia of a deceptive mimesis that extends to the mimetic representations of Gothic fiction itself.

If iconophobias of mimesis arise in *The Monk*, distorting middle-class ideologies of imaged identity and resemblance, in James Hogg's *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824), they arise from excesses of resemblance: from a lack of boundaries between self and others and between one's own body and mind. The narrative ruptures the core of imaged identity—the inherence of the divine image and of one's soul in one's body—with the possession of one's body by the soul of another and/or by the possession of one's image by a shapeshifter. The novel remains unclear which (or if either) is the case.

Confessions of a Justified Sinner is profoundly concerned with an excess of imaged identity that renders persons indistinguishable from each other and oneself indistinguishable from others: "[H]e is so like in every lineament, look, and gesture that, against the clearest light of reason, I cannot in my mind separate the one from the other" (138). Individuating identity rooted in selfsameness shatters when another possesses that sameness:

> That strange youth and I approached each other in silence and slowly, with our eyes fixed on each other's eyes. . . . What was my astonishment on perceiving that *he was the same being as myself*! The clothes were the *same* to the smallest item. The form was the *same*; the apparent age, the color of the hair, the eyes, and, as far as recollection could serve me from viewing my own features in a glass, the features too were *the very same*. (175–6, emphasis added)

The excess of resemblance resounds in the trebled ejaculation, "The very same! The very same! The very same!" (121), offering one "very same" for "he," one for "myself," and a third for their resemblance to each other. All are "the very same." The men not only resemble each other; they also resemble their *resemblance* to each other.

Paradoxically, when imaged identity intensifies from sameness to very sameness, rather than diminishing difference and hostility, it accentuates them. In-

deed, the narrator expresses the excess of mimesis in a rhetoric of negation and differentiation: "So *like* was he that there was *not* one item in dress, form, feature, *nor* voice by which I could distinguish the one from the *other*. I was certain it was *not* he, because I had seen the one going and the *other* approaching at the *same* time" (112, emphasis added). A shared temporality bifurcates all the other likenesses, even as it reinforces them.

Attempts to define "very sameness" furthermore multiply, conflict, and fragment in alternative explanations: I "have a certain indefinable expression on my mind that they are one and the same being or that the one was a prototype of the other . . . [or] that I looked upon some spirit or demon in his likeness" (138; 112). Prototypes and familiars are opposites: the prototype makes another in its image; the familiar makes itself in another's image.[4] These opposed hypotheses increase rather than diminish the sense of oppositional otherness produced by very sameness. As the memoirist cannot determine the either-or of very sameness, he loses his subjective sense of identity rooted in selfsameness, bifurcating into an "either-or" subjectivity: "I was a being incomprehensible to myself. *Either* I had a second self, who transacted business in my likeness, *or* else my body was at times possessed by a spirit over which it had no control and of whose actions my own soul was wholly unconscious" (278, emphasis added). Indeterminacy joins difference to undermine the identity of mimesis; equally, the excess of mimesis undermines identity.

The memoirist loses his subjective sense of self-same identity through the incursion of the very same; his either-or hypotheses figure body-soul relations differently. The second self posits two bodies and two souls sharing a single social identity in two separate locations; the possessed self posits one body alternately possessed by two souls: one that he owns and knows; the other that owns his body without his knowledge. However, the being that is the very same other ascribes to another hypothesis:

> "My countenance changes with my studies and sensations," said he. "It is a natural peculiarity in me over which I have not full control. If I contemplate a man's features seriously, mine own gradually assume the very same appearance and character. And what is more, by contemplating a face minutely, I not only attain the same likeness but, with the likeness, I attain the very same ideas as well as the same mode of arranging them, so that, you see, by looking at a person attentively, I by degrees assume his likeness and, by assuming his likeness, I attain to the possession of his most secret thoughts." (188)

Chapter 6 attests that theories of mind in the period figure both perception and remembering as the production of resemblance. *Confessions of a Justified Sinner* carries perception further from the production to the *possession* of the other's likeness. It extends the power of iconology beyond *knowledge* of the other via imaging to *possession* of the other's image as one's own and, with it, the other's social and subjective identity. It carries identification *of* another to identification *with* another to identification *as* another. *Confessions of a Justified Sinner* thus extends the power of facial identification beyond sympathy and empathy to possession of the other, body and soul. Intriguingly, this concept is also advanced in a review of Sir Henry Steuart's *The Planter's Guide* (1828), a treatise on how to transplant trees:

> Why keep poring on that book of plates, purchased at less than half price at a sale, when Nature flutters before your eyes her own folio, which all who run may read—although to study it as it ought to be studied, you must certainly sit down on mossy stump, ledge of an old bridge, stone-wall, stream-bank, or broomy brae, and *gaze, and gaze, and gaze, till woods and sky become like your very self, and your very self like them, at once incorporated together and spiritualized*. After a few years' such lessons—you may become a planter—and under your hands not only shall the desert blossom like the rose, but murmur like the palm, and if "southward through Eden goes a river large" and your name be Adam, what a skeptic not to believe yourself the first of men, your wife the fairest of her daughters, Eve, and your policy Paradise! ("Sir Henry Steuart's Theory of Transplantation," 1828, 412, emphasis added)

The supreme power of iconology lies not so much in having power *over* what one sees and reads as in *incorporating* what one sees. When this passage makes looking the mechanism through which one identity incorporates another, it is not so much the process of unconscious projection described by psychoanalysis as a conscious and reciprocal interchange of likeness. The middle classes seek to increase their power both by conforming other classes to their imaged identities and by imaging desired aspects of other class identities. Chapter 2 has shown that, as much as the bourgeoisie read aristocratic identities iconotropically, they also aspire to the power, privilege, and property of aristocratic identities. *Justified Sinner* dramatizes the ways in which middle-class iconologies of imaged identity aim both at dispossessing the ruling classes and at possessing their social power and privilege. The physiognomic chameleon poses as both the elder brother murdered for his position *and* the younger brother who murdered him. Terrifyingly for middle-class narratives of usurpation, he returns in the image of the murdered brother and reclaims the prerogatives of lineal primogeniture from the

fratricidal brother. It is the malleability of imaged identity that makes it such a versatile form for middle-class revolutions in iconography. That very malleability, however, leaves middle-class iconographies equally susceptible to revolution.

More threatening still to middle-class ideology, *Confessions of a Justified Sinner* uses excesses of mimesis to render good and evil identities indistinguishable, interchangeable, and ultimately indeterminate. The thief of likeness and imaged identity usurps the bases of middle-class identity: mind, soul, and character. Where he only *poses* as the memoirist's dead and buried brother, he *possesses* the memoirist's body and usurps his soul, mind, and memory. The possession challenges the protagonist's claims to hypermorality and knowledge rooted in a dissenting Calvinism that exaggerates and epitomizes middle-class moral values. The memoirist self-identifies as religiously and morally superior to most. That his physiognomy and identity are usurped and directed to committing the most immoral and evil deeds by bourgeois standards, deeds usually attributed to Gothic aristocrats—seduction, violence, treachery, deceit, matricide, patricide, fratricide, and the murder of a sweetheart—levies the bitterest of indictments on bourgeois claims to righteousness. The justified sinner is innocent in his own mind but guilty in everyone else's: "I deemed myself quite free, but the world deemed otherwise" (314); "One called me a monster of nature; another an incarnate devil," but "[I had never] considered myself in the light of a malefactor, but rather as a champion in the cause of truth" (324). He remains unaware of his own evil and/or the evil that is committed using his identity (the novel remains ambivalent as to which is the case). His oblivion intensifies the phobia, since it raises the possibility that even the most confidently righteous may be embroiled in evil against their own knowledge as well as their own ideology.

Unlike Gothic novels in which iconophobia is lessened by explaining the supernatural naturally or psychologically, *Confessions of a Justified Sinner* offers no such mitigation. Even if the very same other is a figment of imagination, its terror is by no means lessened, for it has real-world, destructive consequences (the murder of others and self-murder). The internalization of the very same other subjects the writer to iconophobia's most terrifying forms—supremely terrifying precisely because they are internal, integral, inherent, and ineluctable:

> I not only looked around me with terror at every one that approached, but I was [also] become a terror to myself, or rather, *my body and soul were become terrors to each other* and, had it been possible, I felt as if they would have gone to war. I dared not look at my face in a glass, for *I shuddered at my own image and likeness*. (348, emphasis added)

The phobia here is of his own imaged identity—of his own body and soul, which image and inhere in each other and "become terrors to each other"—all the more so through reciprocal imaging. He is terrified of his own face imaged in the mirror: "I shuddered at my own image and likeness." Selfsameness is ruptured by the "very same other"; it becomes self-terrorizing rather than self-satisfying; it colludes with vice rather than with virtue. It thus completely unravels middle-class concepts of mimetic social and subjective identity, doing so through an *excess* rather than a *lack* of mimesis.

NEGATIVE ICONOPHOBIAS

Terrors and horrors of mimesis, resemblance, and imaged identity are counterpointed and intensified by negative iconophobias: phobias of the *absence* of imaged identity. In an exchange between Emily and Annette in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, the latter manifests a negative iconophobia based in an absence of narrative picture identification ("nothing") and seeks a "way out":

> "What have you heard of this picture to terrify you so, my good girl?"
>
> "Nothing, mamselle; I have heard nothing, only let us find our way out." (Radcliffe 2.187–8)

Negative iconophobias take two main forms in Gothic fiction: one based in a *loss* of imaged identity, the other in a *lack* of imaged identity. The two interpenetrate, heightening iconophobia.

Behind the black veil in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* lies what appears to be a *loss* of imaged identity: "What added to the horror of the spectacle was that the face appeared partly decayed and disfigured by worms, which were visible on the features" (4.399). Although it is recognizable as "a human figure," the decayed face precludes any more specific identification; not even its gender is legible. Here can be no identification based in face matching, for the face no longer resembles its former images. Identity lies outside of resemblance; physiognomy cannot be read. What is most "visible on the features" are the very worms that have brought about this loss of identity.

This is a wax figure, the narrator explains, a penance ordered by the Roman Catholic Church to humble a proud aristocrat and his heirs. Chapter 4 indicates that middle-class authors locate a historical precedent in the church for asserting a moralistic upper hand over the ruling classes. The moral connection emerges didactically in the juxtaposition of the wax corpse to a live face that has lost its resemblance to its portraits through moral turpitude. (Indeed, Austen's fictional

reader, Catherine Morland, conflates the two: she is certain that Laurentini's skeleton lies behind the black veil.) Like the face of the wax portrait, Laurentini's face cannot be identified by resemblance to its former images, either in memory or in portraiture. Laurentini challenges Emily:

> "Look well at this picture and see if you can discover any resemblance between what I was and what I am." . . .
>
> In silent astonishment, Emily continued to gaze alternately upon the picture and the dying nun, endeavoring to trace a resemblance between them, which no longer existed. . . .
>
> ". . . was it really your resemblance?" . . .
>
> ". . . it was once esteemed a striking likeness of me. Look at me well and see what guilt has made me. I then was innocent." (4.355–7)

The novel makes clear that iconographic illegibility is not simply the result of chronological aging or of a poorly constructed portrait, but of "evil passions" (4.457). Lavater too asserts: "The passions of the mind produce their accordant effects upon the countenance. There are such things as moral beauty and deformity" (*Essays*, 1778, 1.193). I am less concerned here with the overt moral message, which reinforces middle-class ideologies, than with the deeper phobia of the *loss of resemblance* to one's former self *and to representations of oneself*, which undermines them. Such loss places Laurentini outside of mimetic modes of social identification, raising negative iconophobia.

In a similar vein, although the wax portrait limits aristocratic power through moral and religious judgment, it carries a negative iconophobia that threatens moral power. The deeper phobia the portrait raises is not that it manifests a character inculcating religious or moral fear but that that it manifests *no legible character at all*. The wax figure raises a negative iconophobia of that which cannot be read, codified, or identified by middle-class iconologies and aesthetics. The narrator's purportedly reassuring explanation of *Udolpho*'s central horror subsequently intensifies rather than mitigates its iconophobia: "Had she dared to look again, her delusion and her fears would have vanished together and she would have perceived that the figure before her was not human, but formed of wax" (4.400). But even as the second look diminishes the horror of biological decomposition by revealing that it is *only* a representation, it increases the negative iconophobia of representational decomposition precisely because it *is* a representation. Indeed, the novel's central phobia cannot be a fear of biological death, for when Emily sees an *actual* dead body behind another veil (3.21), it arouses a more rapidly resolved horror. Although Emily faints, she does not continually return

to the memory of the horror; the narrator does not leave readers in suspense but immediately describes the corpse; moreover, illustrated editions (1799ff.) include a picture of it.[5] The dead face is "deformed" but not "decomposed": "The features, deformed by death, were ghastly and horrible." The face is wounded but not worm-eaten: "[M]ore than one livid wound appeared in the face" (3.22). Although the wounded face and Emily's horror are enough to lead her to misidentify a dead soldier as her aunt, the image allows for at least some identification.

The terror of the wax portrait, moreover, is not so much that a *body* has lost its ability to identify as that a *representation* has. Portraits are supposed to fix imaged afterlives—to continue to identify when decaying bodies become illegible. In *The Orphan of the Rhine*, funerary portraits have lost both their ability to identify and their identity as portraits: "At the upper end of the abyss were erected two statues, now headless . . . proud arches contained all that remained of former greatness . . . inscriptions were too much effaced to convey the intended lesson to mortality" (145). Although empty arches, headless statues, and effaced inscriptions have lost their identity as portraits, they retain significatory power through negative iconophobia: "[S]he felt herself impressed with a solemn awe and an emotion of fear, which she could neither account for nor subdue" (145).

However, because *Udolpho*'s wax portrait begins and continues illegibly, it presents as an always already decomposed picture identification. Identity here proves lacking rather than lost. Augmenting the phobia, even as it represents decomposition, as a wax portrait, it precludes its own decomposition. Even as it is always already decomposing, it is never to be completely decomposed. Embedded in this resolutely partial, incomplete decomposition lies a double-edged phobia that the middle-class representational revolution is partial and incomplete and that, even so, it has produced powerful and terrifying iconographies that undermine its own agendas and values.

As *Udolpho*'s wax portrait marks the horror of decomposing iconographies, *Frankenstein*'s creature raises the horror of their recomposition and reanimation in new forms. *Frankenstein* reverses the horror of *Udolpho*'s wax portrait: "I saw how the worm inherited the wonders of the eye and brain. . . . I became myself capable of bestowing animation upon lifeless matter" (38). This reversal does not eradicate negative iconophobia; it simply raises another kind. *Frankenstein*'s negative iconophobia derives from a *lack* rather than a *loss* of imaged identity. Frankenstein's creature lacks conventional imaged identity, in that he was created from existing body parts rather than procreated. As neither procreated life nor aesthetic afterlife, Frankenstein's creature is not a representation, but a re-presentation. He cannot be viewed as a prototype of Thomas Paine's man

newly made in the image of God; rather, he is created in the image of other men. Yet here too, he departs from traditional chains of imaged identity. As a created rather than procreated being, he lacks the conventional lineal identity conferred by birth. He shares multiple, partial identities with many, unrelated, and unidentified men. Created full-grown and abandoned by his creator, he further lacks the identity conferred by naming, socialization, and property:

> I learned that the possessions most esteemed by your fellow creatures were high and unsullied descent united with riches. A man might be respected with only one of these advantages, but without either he was considered, except in very rare instances, as a vagabond and a slave, doomed to waste his powers for the profits of the chosen few! And what was I? Of my creation and creator I was absolutely ignorant, but I knew that I possessed no money, no friends, no kind of property. (103)

He further lacks the identity formation of socialization: he receives no nurture, food, clothing, shelter, or education from Frankenstein.

The creature understands that he lacks imaged identity—the sameness, likeness, and resemblance to others central to social identification: "I was not even of the *same* nature as man. . . . When I looked around I saw and heard of none *like* me. . . . I had never yet seen a being *resembling* me or who claimed any intercourse with me. *What was I*? The question again recurred, to be answered only with groans" (103, emphasis added). The creature evinces a clear understanding that the answer to "What was I?" lies in resemblance.[6] Without the answering repetition of resemblance, only the questions recur and multiply: "Who was I? What was I? Whence did I come? What was my destination? These questions continually recurred, but I was unable to solve them" (111). These are questions of subjective, objective, and temporal identity—of origins and destinies.

We have seen that imaged identity runs along two broad axes: selfsameness and sameness with others. The creature lacks the selfsameness of body and soul that physiognomy makes the basis of imaged identity; the creature also lacks imaged identificatory sameness with others. Lacking imaged identity with others, he substitutes imitation, imitating the behaviors of others, their modes of consumption ("I tried . . . to dress my food in the same manner" [89]), their labor ("performed those offices that I had seen done by Felix" [98]), and their language ("I comprehended and could imitate almost every word that was spoken" [102]). Through language, he forges a partial but incomplete identification: "I found myself *similar* yet at the same time strangely *unlike* to the beings concerning whom I *read* and to whose conversation I was a *listener*" (111, emphasis added). Reading John Milton's *Paradise Lost*,

> I often referred the several situations, as their *similarity* struck me, to my own. *Like* Adam, I was apparently united by no link to any other being in existence; but his state was far *different* from mine in every *other* respect. . . . I considered Satan as the fitter emblem of my condition, for often, *like* him, when I viewed the bliss of my protectors, the bitter gall of envy rose within me. . . . [However,] Satan had his companions, fellow devils, to admire and encourage him, but I am solitary and abhorred. (112, emphasis added)

No matter how much he imitates the identities he reads or hears speaking, he fails to *image* them. Milton's Satan is beautiful; the creature "had admired the perfect forms of my cottagers—their grace, beauty, and delicate complexions—but how was I terrified when I viewed myself in a transparent pool!" (97). Iconophobia of lacking imaged identity overrides discursive social identification of and with others; moreover, it is itself not subject to verbal discourse: "Who can describe their horror and consternation on beholding me?" (117). Although many critics have traced textual and discursive similarities between Frankenstein and his creature,[7] the insurmountable difference in their physical appearance remains, constructing radically differing social identifications.

Lacking imaged identity with others, concluding that "the human senses are an insurmountable barrier to our union" (127), the creature asks Frankenstein to make a companion *in his image*: "[O]ne as deformed and horrible as myself would not deny herself to me. My companion must be of the *same* species and have the *same* defects. This being you must create" (126, emphasis added). (The desire for imaged identity is intensified by erotic desire rather than reducible to it.) When Frankenstein destroys the creature's unfinished bride, the creature abandons the quest for imaged identity with another and returns to mimetic imitation in the form of revenge. Mimesis here turns out to be a more destructive than creative force.

The iconophobias addressed in this chapter attack theories of imaged identity, both aristocratic and middle class, in multiple ways. If iconophobias in *Frankenstein* arise from a lack of resemblance to others and a lack of resemblance between one's own body and soul, iconophobias in *Confessions of a Justified Sinner* derive from an excess of resemblance to others and an incursion upon selfsameness by another. In *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, iconophobia arises from a loss of resemblance and, with it, the ability of iconography to reveal and of iconology to know. All of these phobias reflect middle-class fears of their own iconographic revolution and of future iconographic revolutions by classes beneath theirs, issues that my conclusion probes further.

Conclusion

> I was still examining monuments, gazing on pictures, and numbering columns when darkness fell around me.
>
> —Lady Sydney Morgan, *Florence Macarthy* (1818, 1.113)

> Having observed with the most earnest attention the stately busts that adorned the niches, the heavy gloom of the impending monuments, and the cross-bones, saints, crucifixes, and various other devices suitable to the nature of the place, which were once painted on the walls, but which time had now nearly obliterated, she felt an uneasy sensation stealing upon her mind and, as the partial gleam of the lamp fell upon the ghastly countenances of the marble figures before her, she started involuntarily from the view.
>
> —Eleanor Sleath, *The Orphan of the Rhine* (1798, 146)

Still examining monuments, still gazing on pictures, I start involuntarily from the view, uneasily aware that there is a great deal more to be said and that it cannot be said here. This book has emphasized uses of picture identification to promote middle-class ascendancy because my research indicates that this is the primary concern of discourses and practices driving, informing, and following the rise of mass picture identification between 1764 and 1835. As picture identification ties

faces to proper names to establish social identity intersemiotically, this book ties portraiture to Gothic fiction and other discourses to forge an intersemiotic study of cultural narratives, mythologies, and practices of picture identification. Amid many cultural mythologies and discourses, it has privileged first-wave Gothic fiction because it is more obsessively, pervasively, and didactically concerned with picture identification than any other discourse in the period and because its boundary crossings, addressed by so many critics,[1] are particularly hospitable to the many boundaries crossed by and within the ideologies, rhetoric, intersemiotics, and practices of picture identification. No other discourse so deftly and intensively manipulates the politics, iconographies, iconologies, iconotropism, iconism, intersemiotics, iconophilia, and iconophobia of picture identification to mythologize middle-class ascendancy and upper-class decline.

While my study has prioritized Gothic fiction for the intensity and pervasiveness of its engagements with picture identification, by the mid-1830s Gothic fiction was critiqued increasingly for its histrionics and lack of realism. In 1834 a reviewer of Andrew Picken's *Traditionary Stories of Old Families and Legendary Illustrations of Family History* (1833), a collection of Gothic tales, complains that "it is too much out of common nature, composed of incidents and circumstances and situations that never could have been realized; too wild, romantic, and mysterious for our taste" (53). The tale singled out to illustrate these objections, "The Priors of Lawford," represents picture identification as similarly "wild":

> She led the way, lamp in hand, through narrow passages, long corridors, empty saloons, tapestried chambers, till they entered a large kind of gallery hung round with male and female portraits. "Look at them," she cried, "Look! These are the portraits of my ancestors, of my family—my mother, my father—*they all died mad!*" The secret was discovered—the truth revealed—*they did look excessively wild*. (53, reviewer's summary, emphasis in original)

Identifying herself by ancestral pictures, projecting her future from their past, the "Prior" heroine does not anticipate the happy ending granted by picture identification in so many prior Gothic novels. Her ancestral inheritance is madness produced by in-breeding ("I am doomed by the blood that runs in my veins to be yet a raving maniac"), an inheritance precluding future progeny and bringing about the end of her line ("I must wear out my life in maiden seclusion and go down to the grave, the last and saddest of my race") (Picken 2.166–7). As the reviewer seeks to tame the excesses of wild Gothic writing with realism and empiricism, so too a doctor seeks to tame and rationalize such "wild" picture identifications within the tale: he "looked at the portraits and made up his mind

that they were none of them half so mad as they supposed . . . assuring her that there were ten chances to two against her turning out insane; that he could see only a little, very little wildness in her eyes" (53).[2] The doctor's prognosis persuades the woman to marry, but a rival for her husband, a female servant, strives to restore the wife's prior/Prior identification with the portraits, hoping to drive her to suicide. The doctor, however, returns as chivalric, rational hero, rescuing the heroine from such identifications.

"The Priors of Lawford" marks several shifts in picture identification that would continue throughout the nineteenth century into the twentieth. First, it passes the authority of picture identification from Gothic heroines and female servants to medical men, adducing that "persons supposed to be in this unhappy situation are by no means the best judges of the application of any general rule to their own cases" (2.193). In order to be identified as sane and normative, the woman must give up her own picture identification and cede to identification by medical men. Contrasting prior Gothic fiction, the heroine submits to being identified by the doctor's "long experience" (2.199) rather than her own. Recasting the traditionally devoted servingwoman as murderous, adulterous villain further undermines the authority of women over their own picture identifications and the picture identification of others established in high Gothic fiction (see my chapters 4, 6, and 7). The tale indicates the power of picture identification by others to construct subjective and social identity; the "guarded replies and strange looks" (2.241) of the hired woman drive the heroine to madness and the brink of suicide; the doctor's corrective identification is represented as social and relational healing. This is not, then, a narrative of subjective identity versus social construction, but it marks a shift in who is granted authority to construct subjective identity.

The doctor's reference to "general rules" marks a second shift that was to continue in the nineteenth century from individual and familial picture identification to that of common-noun groups: "His mind, occupied with the sum total of conclusions, rested little on individuality" (2.155). Abandoning the usual Gothic histrionics, the doctor indicates a third shift to detached, objectivist, and impersonal modes of social identification: "[E]xcuse me, madam, for speaking of you in the third person in your own presence" (2.195–6). Fourth, departing from the mystical formalism of Lavater's physiognomy, the doctor's "facts and reasonings" (2.203) medicalize and rationalize picture identification in order to extend attacks on aristocratic families to other nonconforming groups, associating their cultural practices and beliefs with those deemed to produce aristocratic decadence and disease:

> I by no means flinch from the consideration . . . that such an affliction may be inherited, knowing that in all exclusive tribes, as the Jewish people, the Quakers, Moravians, &c., as well as in clanships and among aristocratic families accustomed to invariable intermarriages among each other, such predisposition has been and is transmitted. (2.218)

Where earlier Gothic fiction figures aristocrats as individually and familially self-destructive, murdering their own relatives and dying from guilt, shame, or remorse, this late Gothic tale situates their self-destruction at the origins of their procreative identities. Refusing to intermarry and share their wealth, titles, and power with the lower ranks, their inbred lineal inheritances produce inbred, internal mental diseases and self-murder rather than the murder of others.

Fifty years prior to *Traditionary Stories*, two young princesses, picture-identified as living portraits of their parents, had emerged expectantly from a recess in Sophia Lee's *The Recess* (1783–5). In "The Priors of Lawford," the heroine's father is one of many aristocratic forebears to have retreated through a "small door in the recess under the large picture" into a "small closet" to die "in the melancholy insensibility of total derangement" (2.103, 108). Picture identification extends such self-destruction to class destruction: "I looked at the many broken-down portraits of former lords of these domains, whose very names were becoming as obsolete as their features were dilapidated" (1.71).[3] The central ingredients of picture identification—names and faces—are here almost illegible; Gothic picture identification has contributed significantly to rendering aristocratic identities "obsolete"; concomitantly, the Reform Act of 1832 has recently inaugurated the rise of mass political representation that continues throughout the nineteenth century into the twentieth.

As the realism insisted upon in portraiture becomes a mandate for prose fiction as well, Gothic literature declines in popularity. The doctor's rationalism and generalization prove far more effective than the supernatural, sentimental, and histrionic in marshaling picture identification to resist new threats to middle-class power from the working classes and dissenting religious and foreign groups; the doctor's conjoined critique of aristocrats and these groups indicates that, by the mid-1830s, the middle classes are already reworking discourses of picture identification to keep such groups marginalized and disempowered. With the serialization of Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (1837–9), the latter 1830s would mark a shift from historical, rural Gothic to contemporary, urban Gothic and turn from differentiating the upper and middle classes to differentiating the middle from the lower classes.

Concomitantly, the middle classes turn their attention from condemning the values of the higher ranks to instilling their values in the lower orders. At the end of the period addressed by this book, in the final month of 1834, Leigh Hunt's "Put up a Picture in Your Room" promotes pictures as a means of inculcating bourgeois ideologies among the aspirational lower classes: "May we exhort such of our readers as have no pictures hanging in their room to put one up immediately? We mean in their principal sitting-room—in all their rooms, if possible, but, at all events, in that one" (289).[4] If aristocratic genealogical galleries shore up inherited identities, and if portraits in middle-class homes affirm middle-class values, pictures in working-class homes are to have a top-down pedagogical function: "By living with pictures we learn to 'read' them." Defining pictures "in the child's sense" for "ingenuous readers," Hunt instructs the lower orders to consume pictures in terms of bourgeois mind and affect:

> [W]hen we speak of putting pictures up in a room, we use the word "picture" in the child's sense, meaning any kind of graphic representation, oil, water-color, copper-plate, drawing, or wood-cut. And any one of these is worth putting up in your room, provided you have mind enough to get a pleasure from it . . . to feel the beauties of a work of art, or to be capable of being led to feel them, is a gift which often falls to the lot of the poorest.

Where they themselves cannot feel the proper, bourgeois iconophilia for pictures, "the poorest" must be "led to feel them." Hunt deems such indoctrination "a gift which often falls to the lot of the poorest."

Hunt's domestic pictorial literacy program is possible only because the downward mobility of art has made pictures almost universally affordable:

> [I]t is so easy to square the picture to one's aspirations, or professions, or the powers of one's pocket. . . . The print-shops, the book-stalls, the portfolios containing etchings and engravings at a penny or two pence a-piece (often superior to plates charged twenty times as much) and, lastly, the engravings that make their way into the shop-windows out of the annuals of the past season and that are to be had for almost as little will furnish the ingenuous reader of this article with an infinite store to choose from.

Hunt is confident that all pictures accessible to the lower classes hold bourgeois ideological "worth": "[T]he admiration of a picture is a kind of religion or additional tie on our consciences." Even as they are "led" to identify pictures as the bourgeoisie do, the lower orders are to possess pictures as property and to

perceive their learned picture identifications to be their own: "considering them as belonging to us . . . forming a part of our common-places." "Our commonplaces" gestures doubly to the common ideological ground that Hunt seeks to establish with the lower classes and attempts to render bourgeois values commonplace. Hailing the socializing and conforming functions of mimetic pictures—their power "to make us compare notes with other individuals and with nature at large and correct our infirmities at their mirror by modesty and reflection"—he extends the mimetic properties of pictures to the mimicry of social conformity.

Whereas Wordsworth had promoted private memory and poetry to counter the pernicious effects of industrialization and city life, Hunt advocates mass-produced pictures as communal "memories":

> We may live in the thick of a city, for instance, and can seldom go out and "feed" ourselves
>
> With pleasure of the breathing fields;
>
> but we can put up a picture of the fields before us and, as we get used to it, we shall find it the next thing to seeing the fields at a distance. For every picture is a kind of window, which supplies us with a fine sight.

Just as portraits produce conventional thoughts and emotions about experiences in the absence of any memory of them (see chapter 6), pictures are to create "memories" of experiences that the working classes have not had, functioning as substitutes for what they have lost or lack amid rising industrialism and capitalism. Uprooted from the fresh air and open spaces of the countryside, hemmed in by crowded city life, lacking clean air and windows, overworked and underpaid by bourgeois employers, hungry as landowners raise food prices to compete economically with capitalists, pictures are to "feed" them, serving as virtual windows that make what they have lost or lack appear to be present, teaching them to "get used to . . . a fine sight" as "the next thing to" reality and substance. Hunt here builds on middle-class emphases on the priority of representation addressed throughout my book. Turning from assaulting aristocratic bodies to overriding the bodily wants of the lower orders, Hunt teaches the latter to compensate for lack through representation, vision, mind, and affect. The higher middle way of picture identification, then, works equally to bring down the higher ranks and to keep the lower classes down; even as it seeks to mediate and render inherent bourgeois thoughts, feelings, and images among the lower orders, it serves to keep them from impinging tangibly on middle-class property and wealth.

If the lower ranks are to rise materially, they may do so only by becoming

bourgeois themselves—otherwise, they are, through picture identification, to remain virtual rather than actual bourgeoisie. Portraits allow the poor to possess those above them virtually, as absent presences and in aspirational terms. Hunt describes a clerk who, "resolved that [his] room should have had one great man in it," buys a portrait of Samuel Johnson. Emulating this quintessential middle-class thinker, Hunt claims, leads the clerk to prosper economically and supply his *own* material lack.

Subsequently, photography would allow the lower classes not simply to possess pictures of those above them but to be picture-identified themselves. By the early 1860s, photography made picture identification all but universally accessible. Mayhew documents that in 1861 even "the poorest" have their photographs taken (3.204–10). With the continuing downward mobility of art, Hunt and others rework picture identification to prevent the aspirational lower ranks from mounting attacks on and claims to bourgeois property and privileges similar to those that the bourgeoisie had mounted against the upper ranks. As radical politicians lay claim to political representation on the basis of portrait representation in the 1790s, so too, in the latter 1860s, radicals demand political representation for the lower classes by the same analogy. Anthony Trollope's *Phineas Finn* (1867) fictionalizes such demands and bourgeois objections to them:

> "As a portrait should be like the person portrayed, so should a representative House be like the people whom it represents. . . . Another great authority has told us that our House of Commons should be the mirror of the people. I say, not its mirror, but its miniature." [letter from radical politician Joshua Monk] . . .
>
> "Claptrap!" said Phineas.
>
> "It's what I call downright Radical nonsense," said Mrs. Low, nodding her head energetically. "Portrait indeed! Why should we want to have a portrait of ignorance and ugliness? What we all want is to have things quiet and orderly."
>
> "Then you'd better have a paternal government at once," said Phineas. (113)

Here and elsewhere, when the lower orders invoke mimetic picture identification to advance their own political ascendancy, the middle classes take up defensive positions against the analogy, changing their discourses, practices, and ideologies of picture identification to forfend against it. Bourgeois men use photography to more authoritatively turn physiognomical picture identifications against other groups, defining, categorizing, controlling, and othering criminals, the mentally and physically disabled, women, children, foreigners, and colonial subjects in political, legal, and medical discourses (see Lombroso; Lindsay Smith). An increasingly bourgeois "paternal government" uses picture identification to control

social identity and mobility more generally; as the nineteenth century continues, Kelly Gates documents a rising "culture of identification, in which individuals are assigned official identities and routinely asked to verify those identities in social and economic exchanges" (3). Picture identification becomes the province of bureaucracy, "the portable token of an originary act of bureaucratic recognition of the 'authentic object'—an 'accurate description' of the bearer recognized and signed by an accredited official and available for repeated acts of probative ratification" (Gates 51).

At the same time, bourgeois British men begin to resist their picture identification by others. In the mid-nineteenth century, they resent "the affront to their dignity" inflicted by passports containing physical descriptions of them, considering these to undermine "the bona fides of an English gentleman" (Lloyd 6). In 1915 the outraged English trader and empire builder Mr. Bassett Digby complains to the *Times*: "On the form provided for the purpose [of obtaining a passport,] I described my face as 'intelligent.' Instead of finding this characterization entered, I have received a passport on which some official, utterly unknown to me, has taken it upon himself to call my face 'oval' " (qtd. in Lloyd 243–4). Digby objects to his physical representation, insisting that his face be abstracted and read solely as a mark of his mental superiority.

Because I intend to write another book addressing picture identification between 1836 and 1918, the point to stress by way of conclusion to this book is that such uses persist today. Debates over the UK Identity Cards Initiative in the early twenty-first century[5] express a similar concern with "the move from [identity cards] enabling individuals to identify themselves to enabling the state to identify individuals" (House of Commons 42). Before 9/11, they were called "entitlement cards" (24), designed primarily to control access to benefits, much as picture identification functions in Gothic inheritance plots. After 9/11, Labour home secretary Jacqui Smith declared: "We are also determined to realize the full benefits to national security from the national identity scheme" (Jacqui Smith). Concerns about social identification in the wake of early industrialism and urbanization also continue in the twenty-first century, intensifying in the wake of globalization and international terrorism: "[C]oncerns about the fluidity of identity are matched by increasing international mobility" (Jacqui Smith). Anxieties about the *multiple* identities of terrorists and criminals join concerns about *unidentified* illegal immigrants: "[I]n excess of a third of those who are engaged in supporting terrorism use multiple identities in order to be able to avoid detection and to evade us being able to disrupt their activities"; "about £390 million a year was laundered through the use of multiple identities" (House of Commons 27–8).

Picture identification is used to resolve both concerns by "locking" "unique" identity to "one person":

> The important thing for everyone on the National Identity Register is that their unique identity details are locked to one person—themselves. No one else can pretend to be them and they can't pretend to be anyone else . . . locking people to one identity will help in our fight against human trafficking, illegal working, and benefit fraud. (Jacqui Smith)

(The singular-plural interplay of "one person—themselves" insinuates a delicious note of multiplicity into the lockdown.) Picture identification thus works to arrest social identities, as well as to enable their mobility, freezing imaged identities for social control, as well as for discourse and posterity.

Although the mix of singular and plural terms clearly emerges in response to recent pressures on gender terminology, the determination to "lock people to one identity" nevertheless militates against postmodern and left-wing theories of identity in the humanities and social sciences. Intriguingly, debates about identity cards associate postmodern concepts of multiple identities with terrorism and crime: "[T]he use of multiple identities is a core part of the armory of organized criminals and terrorists to disguise their activities" (Jacqui Smith). Like criminals and terrorists, but for vastly different reasons, postmodern and identity politics critics resist locking social identity to individual bodies. Postmodern critics declare the illusory impossibility of such lockdowns; identity politics critics resist the normative categories of such identification. Like iconotropic editors of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century print media galleries and first-wave Gothic heroines, academic critics reread picture identifications against the iconographies that have been written into them.

What such debates make clear is that, although emphases on moral character have waned in the twenty-first century, picture identification remains centrally concerned with separating the "good" from the "bad": with rewarding the former with access to resources and spaces and with punishing the latter by depriving them of resources and restricting their mobility. The convents and monasteries to which Gothic villains retire to repent of crimes are not so different from our penal systems, which likewise aim to punish and reform.

Intriguingly, among the crimes that UK identity cards were intended to thwart are identity fraud and identity theft, concerns that also appear in Gothic fiction, where they are resolved by picture identification. However, today identity theft does not require murder or the abandonment of infants precisely because the emphasis on the authority of representation over the representation of authority

pioneered by radical politicians and first-wave Gothic authors means that identity theft can now be accomplished by stealing another's identity *documents*, which carry greater identificatory authority than the bodies they identify, as victims of identity theft attest.

Even so, personal recognition is still required to substantiate picture identification, as it is in fictive Gothic communities: "[P]ast and current employers, neighbors, landlords, family members, and past spouses, all . . . might be required to assist in the identification of an individual" (House of Commons 63). Non-EU applicants applying for a UK driving license in 2010 are instructed to "get someone reliable to sign your photo," advised that "suitable people" are "a local business person or shopkeeper; a librarian; a professionally qualified person, for example, a lawyer, teacher or engineer; a police officer; a bank or building society officer; a civil servant; a minister of religion; a magistrate; a local councilor, MP, AM, MEP or MSP" (Directgov). These thoroughly bourgeois groups constitute today's versions of Gothic fiction's trustworthy servants and housekeepers.

Clearly, despite substantial changes in the production and consumption of picture identification, continuities remain. Inherence persists as an ideology of social identification, as chapter 1 attests; we have modified our theories and practices of social identification to reinscribe and accommodate it. Although photography has demystified older portraiture's concepts of inherence, making it a scientific matter of light and shadows cast by the body upon chemicals and paper rather than a matter of the divine image inhering sequentially in soul, body, and portrait, concepts that a person's bodily image inheres in his or her representational image remain. Similarly, although biometrics and digital technologies have changed ideas about *how* bodies inhere in their representations—how inherent identity is written into and read from bodies (inscribed in fingerprints, body fluids, dropped hairs and skin cells, etc.; read in print matches, DNA lab tests, iris scans, etc.)—all of these reinscribe inherence between bodies and their representations. As a result, some critics perceive that biometric concepts of inherence extend to ontology, not just representation. Irma van der Ploeg considers that "the translation of (aspects of) our physical existence into digital code and 'information' and the new uses of bodies this subsequently allows amounts to a change on the level of ontology, instead of merely that of representation" (59).

Amid such ontological changes, social identification is still perceived to be a process of re-cognition and re-presentation: of imaging the body and making mimetic matches between those images and bodies or other images of bodies. Digital facial recognition technologies "refer to the actual process of digitizing the face and matching it against another image or set of images [as] the recogni-

tion process" (Gates 43). Even when DNA chains of imaged identity are represented by symbols, those symbols are matched *mimetically* to produce identification, reducing the arbitrariness of the sign as the intersemiotics of picture identification do in the late eighteenth century. Mimetic matching is furthermore employed to prove the truth of the word in today's assertions concerning identity. Photographic and biometric identity cards are deemed "a secure and convenient way to prove our identity"—that is, the truth of our claims to proper names—and to ensure "that others who occupy positions of trust in our society are *who they say they are* as well" (Jacqui Smith, emphasis added).

Even as identification practices turn to other body parts, the face remains central and primary, as the persistence of facial photographs on identity documents of all kinds attests. While this may derive partly from convention, some of it derives from economics: since not every bank, bar, and shop can afford the biometric technologies required to store and read other body parts, informal facial recognition remains the most cost-effective way of verifying identity. The face furthermore continues to be central for pragmatic reasons. Although fingerprints and iris scans have lower false match rates than faces do, governing bodies ascertain that "over 1 in 1000 fingers [are] missing or have no readable fingerprints" and that irises are not universal; therefore, the face remains the primary biometric indicator of identity (House of Commons 45). (Even those persons the media nominates as "the man without a face" or "the woman without a face" have faces, albeit not conventional ones.)

The face remains associated with individual as well as universal identification. MIT has developed a facial recognition technology named *eigenface*, meaning "own face" or "individual face." Operating by algorithms that compare new facial scans to a database of scanned faces, it pulls out individual identity from among thousands of possibilities, constructing it as a product of mimetic matching (Paul Reid 100). Thus, individual identity is never individual. Although contests between identity as selfsameness and sameness with others have been increasingly resolved in favor of the former on identity documents, as I note in chapters 1 and 7, DNA testing has restored earlier modes of social identification through related others. In 2007 Britain's Channel 4 aired *The Face of Britain*, a series documenting the interdisciplinary collaboration of biologists, archaeologists, historians, and computer scientists seeking to identify distant ancestors using DNA, blood groups, forensic archaeology, studies of place names and surnames, and digital technology (see McKie). In one episode, digitally reconstructed, composite "regional" ancestral faces are matched to live faces in populations with low social mobility to establish ancestral kinship. Although such collective genealogies res-

urrect aristocratic ideologies of identity based in ancestry and lineage, identity cards today far more often tie us to bourgeois concepts of social groups apart from kin. As the French Constitution of 1793 granted citizenship to foreign men as long as they agreed with the ideology of the Revolution (Leoussi 22), today driving licenses, club membership cards, and employee and student IDs form collectives based in shared practices, beliefs, and activities rather than in birth.

These remarkable, briefly sketched continuities between older and newer forms of social identification require fuller development in future studies. This study has made clear the central role of Gothic fiction in mythologizing the practices and discourses of picture identification in the early years of its mass rise, historicizing and contributing to the theorization of picture identification today. It has demonstrated how Gothic fiction assaults, co-opts, and reworks aristocratic ideology's divinized chains of immanent, inherent imaged identities and its shared rhetoric of persons and portraits, pitting progeny against the portraits that are supposed to serve as parallel afterlives of the titled. It has further shown how Gothic fiction sets matriarchal picture identification aligned with bourgeois values against aristocratic patriarchal picture identification. It has shown how the aristocratic *imago dei* is brought down and ordinary middle-class identities are raised up through mimetic aesthetics in both portraiture and politics, as the downward mobility of portrait representation opens conceptual and rhetorical spaces in which to envision a similar downward mobility of political representation. This downward mobility extends to the reading as well as the writing and subject matter of portraits, a process empowered by the polysemy of *picture identification*, in which pictures identify persons; persons identify pictures; persons identify persons via pictures; persons identify pictures via pictures; and pictures identify each other. Such terminological variations simultaneously forge and represent fluidities among artifactual, cognitive, discursive, and pictorial modes of picture identification, fluidities supported by portraiture's theories of immanence and inherence.

Picture identification, deemed a domain of universal literacy, grants unprecedented knowledge and power to women and the servant classes in first-wave Gothic fiction, giving them an epistemological advantage over ruling and bureaucratic men, whose overdependence on words makes them poor readers of faces, pictures, and social identity. Gothic authors furthermore rework the relations between words and images *within* picture identification to challenge prevailing word-and-image epistemologies based in Judeo-Christian theology and empiricism; some Gothic writers carry affinities between verbal and visual portraiture further to create a colonizing aesthetics that claims all domains of society and

representation for bourgeois ideology. The final chapters of this book have demonstrated how iconophilia and iconophobia drive picture identification in Gothic fiction, as authors rework cultural mythologies of desire to serve bourgeois interests and, at the same time, express terror and horror of their own emerging iconographies and iconologies of picture identification. In spite of these many discussions, this book has made only a small beginning in historicizing, theorizing, and analyzing the rise of mass picture identification; future studies must be undertaken.

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Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Most critics agree that first-wave Gothic begins in 1764 with Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto: A Gothic Story*; Robert Miles presents an exception: "The date 1750 in its very arbitrariness is meant to signify that Gothic has no strictly identifiable beginning" (*Gothic Writing* 8). Miles, however, concurs with "conventional periodization" in deeming that first-wave Gothic fiction ends with Charles Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820). More recently, Rictor Norton, whose *Gothic Readings: The First Wave* extends to 1840, reads both *Melmoth the Wanderer* and William Harrison Ainsworth's *Rookwood* (1834) as attempts to revive the Gothic (viii). Texts cited after 1834, however, either cross the Atlantic or turn from fiction to reader responses. Historically oriented critics choose a political end date, 1832, the year of the Reform Act (e.g., James Watt). My end date coincides with Franz J. Potter's in *The History of Gothic Publishing 1800–1835: Exhuming the Trade*. His book, like mine, is keenly concerned with noncanonical Gothic fiction.

2. I am currently developing a sequel addressing picture identification in the years 1836–1918.

3. A House of Commons report in 1811 defines the middling classes as "the farmer, the tradesman, the shopkeeper, and other industrious descriptions of persons" (House of Commons, "Report of the Bullion Committee" 162).

4. *Family Portraits*, though not a full-blown Gothic novel, contains a haunted lake, castle, picture gallery, rival brothers, and a (nearly) forced marriage.

5. This essay gives portraits short shrift, focusing primarily on Gothic architecture.

6. In spite of its historical and generic variety, Gothic fiction has little to do with actual Gothic painting, which flourished between 1280 and 1515.

CHAPTER 1: THEORY AND/OF PICTURE IDENTIFICATION

1. See also Derrida's *Of Grammatology* and *On the Name*.

2. See Foucault's *Madness and Civilization* and *Discipline and Punish*.

3. Stimilli lays contemporary "face-blindness" at the door of the Greek sculpture (1), an argument that ignores the rest of art history. Portrait historians confirm that the Greeks were the *exception* rather than the rule (Breckenridge 10).

4. Foucault elsewhere concedes that "the form of similarity uncovers the rational order" of many discourses (*The Birth of the Clinic* 6).

5. See also the *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* special issue, *Nineteenth-Century Photography: Contexts, Discourses, Legacies* 22.4 (Stein), and almost any discussion of realism in literature and art since the 1980s.

6. Some critics, including Smith and Windes, posit a pragmatic benefit of essentialist myths of identity, helping minority groups to forge self-definitions against their definitions by dominant cultures.

CHAPTER 2: THE POLITICS OF PICTURE IDENTIFICATION

1. *Portrait* and *picture* are interchangeable terms between 1764 and 1835, often referring to the same artifact within a single sentence.

2. There were, of course, variations on and exceptions to this trend.

3. Color versions of figures 2.1–2.4 are available on the Web sites of the institutions listed in the captions.

4. The term was coined by Robert Graves in *The Greek Myths*. Keenly attuned to local, political meanings of myths ("A true science of myth should begin with the study of archaeology, history, and comparative religion, not in the psychologist's consulting room" [preface to 1960 edition, 12]), Graves opposes approaches that read myths as "original revelations of the pre-conscious psyche," insisting that "Greek mythology was no more mysterious in origin than are modern election cartoons." Subsequent scholars, including Ellen Spolsky, focus more on the science than the politics of the term, using it "to assert the importance of . . . anthropological and biological contextualization to students of inter-art relationships" (12).

5. Print media galleries, such as Thomas Birch's *Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain* (1743), appeared before 1764.

6. Soane's and Burdett's portraits appear in volume 5 (1834). Each entry begins on a new page 1.

7. For a fuller discussion of marital portraits, see West, *Portraiture* 148–59.

8. Two English translations by Thomas Holloway and Thomas Holcraft were published in 1789. I cite Holcraft, 2nd edition, 1804.

9. Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* is a likely precursor to the pile-up of identificatory resemblance. Yet while it includes Perdita's resemblance to her mother, it does not employ a portrait to make the identification. Even so, the mother's live body appears as sculpture as well as in memory to reinforce resemblances between bodies and their aesthetic representations.

10. The novel, however, bifurcates resemblances when it likens one daughter to the father's portrait and the other to the mother's.

11. I address these dynamics and this novel further in subsequent chapters.

12. The novel was first published in late December 1817, with 1818 printed on the title page.

CHAPTER 3: "THE AGE OF PORTRAITURE" AND THE PORTRAITURE OF POLITICS

1. My introduction defines picture identification as "an intersemiotic practice that most commonly matches an embodied, presented face to a named, represented face to verify social identity."

2. *West Port Murders* (1829) illustrates the ongoing use of picture identification to track criminals: "[R]esemblance to the portrait . . . was universally acknowledged by those who were around us and we cannot give a better idea of the [accused] at this time to those who did not see him than by referring to it" (235).

3. When artists painted working-class subjects, they were not picture-identified, since they were not given proper names. Gainsborough's *A Cottage Girl with Dog and Pitcher*, *Haymaker and the Sleeping Girl*, and *The Wood Gatherers* grant common nouns to what were then deemed common identities.

4. Although photography was invented in 1826, it does not appear in Gothic or other fiction until after 1835, nor does it appear much in discourses on picture identification until the 1840s. It will therefore be addressed in the sequel to this book.

5. This portrait can be viewed on the Tate Gallery Web site at www.tate.org.uk/britain/exhibitions/reynolds/c_burke.shtm.

6. This painting can be viewed on the Royal Collection Web site at www.royalcollection.org.uk/egallery/object.asp?maker=11738&object=400645&row=3.

7. "The distinction of sexes is pointed out, but no other distinction is even implied. If this be not divine authority, it is at least historical authority and shows that the equality of man, so far from being a modern doctrine, is the oldest upon record" (29). Paine's gender distinction was immediately challenged by Mary Wollstonecraft in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792).

CHAPTER 4: MATRIARCHAL VERSUS PATRIARCHAL PICTURE IDENTIFICATION

1. Hogle's reading also gestures to Plato, for whom representational art is already a ghost, "an apparition," the shadow of that shadow, the body (*Republic* 425).

2. Although Clery perceives the climactic "form of Alfonso" to be a union of the supersized parts, he views Alfonso as ghost rather than animated portrait. But the two inhere in each other.

3. Walter Scott reminds that "the eleventh century is rather too early for the introduction of a full-length portrait" ("Prefatory Memoir to Walpole" lxxv); it is equally too early for mimetic realist aesthetics.

4. Although this novel precedes Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy*, classical physiognomy had undergone periodical revivals since the Renaissance (see Tytler), and aristocratic ideology held that aristocratic virtues manifested in aristocratic portraiture (Woodall).

5. Wein also likens Manfred to George III (55ff.).

6. Even in the usurping line, the matriarch is virtuous: "[Y]ou are virtuous; you are guiltless . . . as much too good for this world . . . as Manfred is execrable" (151).

7. By contrast, Manfred opposes matriarchal descent, declaring: "I do not want a

daughter" (14) and later killing her accidentally (186), precluding lineage through her and definitively ending his line.

8. Renaissance theories held that maternal imagination at the moment of conception determined whom the child resembled (Engelstein 27).

9. Stewart does acknowledge that "the child is in some physical sense a miniature of the adult" (44).

10. Mother's miniatures appear in plays and historical fiction of the 1770s; Gothic fiction follows rather than leads this convention.

11. Naming this princess Matilda may well mount a protest against Manfred's refusal to acknowledge his daughter Matilda as heir in *Otranto* and to consider only patriarchal heritage.

12. For a fuller account of eye miniatures, see Grootenboer.

13. The National Portrait Gallery, London, has an online collection that offers numerous examples of miniature portraiture.

14. Icons often represent the Virgin Mary with a sword through her heart; there are numerous accounts of her icons bleeding (Vassilaki).

CHAPTER 5: PORTRAITS, PROGENY, ICONOLATRY, AND ICONOCLASM

1. Craven was born into an aristocratic family and married two aristocrats.

2. *Persuasion* was published in December 1817, but dated 1818.

3. *Idolatry* was more commonly counterpointed to *iconoclasm* in the period; I substitute *iconolatry* because my discussion extends from religious to other iconographies and ideologies.

4. Besançon provides an intellectual history of iconoclasm; Barfield offers a multidisciplinary history of idolatry/iconolatry; Michael Kelly addresses aesthetic-semiotic issues; Mitchell discusses historical and political aspects.

5. Because both are John Melmoth, I refer to the former as John or John Melmoth and the latter as the Wanderer or Melmoth the Wanderer. All the same, the nominal confusion of progeny and portrait underscores concepts of inherence.

6. Each entry begins on a new page 1.

7. Iconoclasm occurs largely in association with demonic influences, as in Matthew Lewis's *The Monk*, discussed in chapter 9, and John Polidori's *Vampyre* (1819, 67). It also arises in erotic contexts: for example, in Maria Regina Roche's *The Children of the Abbey* (1796), when the jealous and rejected destroy their own or lovers' portraits (4.41, 4.163). The demonic and erotic interconnect in *The Monk*'s and *Vampyre*'s iconoclasm.

8. Louis XIII instituted coins in 1640 bearing his face and "LVD XIII DG-FR ET NAV REX" (Louis XIII, king of France and Navarre by the grace of God) on one side and the royal monogram and "CHRS REGN VINC IMP" (Christ reigns, defeats, and commands) on the other.

CHAPTER 6: IDENTIFYING PICTURES

1. See, for example, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1823, 13.444.

2. Although twentieth-century scholarship has rendered *iconography* and *iconology* more or less interchangeable, their etymologies distinguish them, defining the former as image writing and the latter as image reading or study. Thomas F. Heck's "The Evolving Meanings of Iconology and Iconography" indicates that these senses were operative between 1764 and 1835.

3. Recent cognitive studies affirm the greater facility for face over name recognition and that face-name matches pose greater challenges to memory than matches between visual images and common nouns (see, e.g., Valentine, Brennan, and Brédart 1996).

4. Similarly, in *The Nun of Miserecordia* (Sophia Frances 1807), a heroine forbidden to open letters by her father gains knowledge through a miniature portrait (2.163–4).

5. West discusses aristocratic portrait conventions in "Patronage and Power."

6. The novel was first published in late December 1817, with 1818 printed on the title page.

CHAPTER 7: PICTURES IDENTIFYING

1. In *Oliver Twist* (1837–9), Cruikshank's illustrations of Oliver and his mother's portrait come nowhere near the claims of exact resemblance made by Dickens's prose.

2. I have altered the order and paragraphy slightly for concision.

CHAPTER 8: ICONISM AND THE AESTHETICS OF GOTHIC FICTION

1. Thibault and Halliday 124–33; Wood 123; Deuchar 558–62.

2. Burwick.

3. Haggarty.

4. See Mack Smith for a general discussion of realism and literary ekphrasis.

5. Howells; Wolstenholme.

6. Hogle; Castle, "Phantasmagoria," " Spectralization"; Crary.

7. Copley and Garside; Keane.

8. Cameron; Beville; Botting, *Gothic Romanced*; Pinch; Mishra.

9. Terry Castle advances a phantasmagorical model of mind in the Romantic period ("Phantasmagoria").

10. Scott contrasts Radcliffe's iconism to Charlotte Turner Smith's, "whose sketches are so very graphical that an artist would find little difficult in painting from them" (3.379).

11. All subsequent references to Derrida and Spivak in this chapter are from *Of Grammatology*.

CHAPTER 9: DESIRING PICTURE IDENTIFICATION

1. Strangely, the *OED* and other dictionaries have no entry for iconophilia, in spite of its widespread use. My epigraphic definition is therefore an etymological one.

2. Michael Bell notes that, in some eighteenth-century literature, "[t]he word combines the meanings of 'principle' and 'feeling.' " But he also traces the term's evolution: "When Samuel Richardson's characters, in the 1740s, referred to their 'sentiments,' they usually meant the moral 'principles' by which they sought to love, whereas for Laurence Sterne in the 1760s the word had come to mean 'feelings.' " Bell addresses the complexity and ambiguity of the term: "Sentiment as 'principle' was invoked as if it had the intuitive and spontaneous impact of feeling, while sentiment as 'feeling' assumed the universal, impersonal authority of principle. Notoriously, however, feeling and principle are often in conflict" (19).

3. See Paul Russell; Mullan; Bell; Claudia L. Johnson; Phillips; Benedict, *Framing Feeling*.

4. Claude Lévi-Strauss, the most significant scholar to advance this argument in *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, has been widely followed.

5. Nonfiction texts in the period also contain narratives of portraits awakening erotic desire: for example, Henry Neele's account of Henry Tudor and Elizabeth's courtship in *The Romance of History* (1828, 2. 297–9) and Lodge's narrative of how the Duchess of Richmond became the model for Britannia on British coins in *Portraits of Illustrious Persons* (1835, vol. 9, n.p.).

6. See, for example, Meyer; Punter, *Writing the Passions*.

7. Although she is mistaken (the image represents her uncle), she and the man believe it to be a portrait of her father.

8. Poovey conflates "the sentimental virtues" with "sensibility," which are not the same, in spite of some interdependence.

9. See Plato's "Allegory of the Cave" (*Republic* book 7); Derrida, *Of Grammatology*; Deleuze, "Plato and the Simulacrum." Many of Barthes's arguments about photography and death in *Camera Lucida* build on earlier writings addressing other forms of portraiture and death.

CHAPTER 10: FEARING PICTURE IDENTIFICATION

1. Maria also wrote Gothic novels.

2. Cavaliero; Sedgwick; Broadwell; Poovey, "Ideology and *The Mysteries of Udolpho*"; Swigart.

3. Twenty-one years earlier, the preface to William Godwin's *St. Leon* includes the tale of a contemporary man deemed to have gained immorality through his resemblance to a portrait painted by Titian (1.ii).

4. The *OED* defines *prototype* as "The first or primary type of a person or thing; an original on which something is modeled or from which it is derived; an exemplar, an archetype."

5. This illustration can be viewed at www.wwnorton.com/college/english/nael/romantic/topic_2/illustrations/imvol4.htm.

6. This emphasis on image marks a departure from Shelley's father's view that affiliation derives from a "common language," "sympathies," and "nominal ties": "I know that I am alone. The creature does not exist with whom I have any common language or any genuine sympathies. . . . The nearer I attempt to draw any of the nominal ties of our nature, the more they start and shrink from my grasp" (Godwin, *St. Leon* 2.127).

7. See, for example, Mellor, *Mary Shelley* 134–6.

CONCLUSION

1. See, for example, Andrew Smith; Punter and Byron; Baldick; Botting, *The Gothic*.

2. There are numerous errors in this reviewer's summary, but I cite it nevertheless because my analysis is more concerned with responses to Gothic fiction than with the fiction here.

3. This passage appears in another of Picken's tales.

4. All subsequent references are also from p. 289.

5. The initiative, instituted by Tony Blair's Labour government, has been scrapped by David Cameron's Conservative government. Even so, many of its discourses and practices remain in other contexts.

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